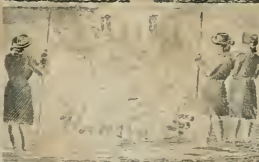




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THE LIFE OF JESUS CHRIST



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FOX'S
BOOK OF MARTYRS;

OR,

**A HISTORY OF THE LIVES, SUFFERINGS, AND TRIUMPHANT
DEATHS, OF MANY OF THE PRIMITIVE**

AS WELL AS

PROTESTANT MARTYRS;

FROM THE COMMENCEMENT OF CHRISTIANITY,

TO THE LATEST PERIODS OF

PAGAN AND POPISH PERSECUTION.

TO WHICH IS ADDED

**AN ACCOUNT OF THE INQUISITION, THE BARTHOLOMEW MASSACRE IN FRANCE
THE GENERAL PERSECUTION UNDER LOUIS XIV., THE MASSACRE
IN THE IRISH REBELLION IN THE YEAR 1641.**

FOURTH EDITION.

"And when he had opened the 5th seal, I saw under the altar the souls of them that were slain for the word of God, and for the testimony which they held."—Rev. vi. 9.

NEW YORK.

CHARLES K. MOORE, 142, NASSAU STREET.

1846

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1839, in the clerk's office of the district court of the
Northern District of New York.*

PREFACE.

THE basis of the following work is a volume published as late as the year 1830. Being too extensive for general use, the editor has attempted such selection and abridgment, as, in his judgment, would adapt it to a more general circulation. He has aimed to execute the work with fidelity, and to present such a volume to the public, as the true history of the times would justify. He has prefixed an introduction, designed to show to the reader, that the principles of the gospel do not justify persecution in any form or manner whatever ; and which may serve, at the same time, to display some of the causes which have led pagans and papists to evince a bitter hostility to the true friends of Christianity.

No apology, it is thought, will be deemed necessary for bringing forward such a work at this time. The present depressed state of Popery, both in England and on the continent, is no proof that its leading principles have been abandoned. By means of various revolutions, its power has been shaken, and, from motives of policy, it has been compelled to cease from blood ; but, in the language of a distinguished divine of our own country, "not a principle of the system has been abandoned. All the wiles of ages are put in requisition now, to heal the fatal wounds which the

beast has received, and to render the system still more powerful and terrific."

To the American people, this subject presents itself with peculiar interest. Within a short period, the attention of the Pope of Rome has been directed to North America, and systematic efforts are now making, under his immediate patronage, and at his expense, to introduce and establish this corrupt system in various parts of our land. Already Catholic churches are erecting; Catholic priests and emissaries are arriving by scores; publications, designed to eulogize and recommend the system, are circulating abroad.

The question presents itself to the American people: "Shall this system find encouragement in the land of the pilgrims?" Is it not to be feared, from all the movements of the pope at this day, influencing monarchs under his control or influence, to send large sums of money to Roman priests in this country, which priests have been but a short time from Europe, to enable them to erect mass-houses, and school-houses, to establish popery—I say, is it not to be feared, that a deadly blow is aimed at the root of our civil and religious principles? May not the question be asked,—If such a thing was ever known in history, of hundreds of thousands of idolaters going into a country, where the people professed to believe in the Bible, and worshipped the only true God, creator of heaven and earth, and making a stand, and building temples for their idols, and immediately claiming all the privileges of citizens of the United States, in a short time, from the constitution, notwithstand-

ing all the blood of protestants that has been shed in the different awful massacres, the indescribable sufferings of the Waldenses and Albigenses, the fires at Smithfield, and other parts of England? Yet we see hundreds and thousands of Roman Catholics, from one part of our country to the other, who have emigrated from different parts of Europe. Some parents have already begun to mourn their credulity in committing their children to the charge of Jesuit priests to receive an education, soon finding their love and affection blunted, and the most endearing ties severed, notwithstanding the most binding promises to make no attempt to change their religion. Thus tender, unguarded youth and children, have been, by their own tender parents, given over into the hands of their destroyers. But some have come away and exposed them. And shall such a root of bitterness be planted here? A holy vigilance should guard well the approaches of an enemy, whose triumphs here would be the ruin of that fair fabric which cost our fathers so much toil to erect. What friend of Zion does not tremble at only a possibility that papal darkness and papal thralldom may overspread even a part of our country? It can by no means be believed, that the wise men who framed our excellent constitution, meant by toleration to tolerate a band of robbers or murderers, (for an inquisition can be considered no better,) who united together to murder and rob other people, however religious they might pretend to be; but they intended to tolerate all persons in their religious opinions, that did not injure or molest any other person in property or in person: so

that the constitution secures the privilege to any person to worship as he pleases, so long as he does not infringe on the privileges of others, to believe and worship as they think best. The constitution declares equal rights and privileges to all sects, to worship and believe as they please, while they injure no other sects or persons. Then, most certainly, an inquisition was not intended to be tolerated by our good and wholesome constitution; since it will be seen at once, that if an inquisition was tolerated, no other sect could be tolerated; and should papists get the ascendancy, we should soon see what the consequence would be. The great question is before the American people,—Does our constitution tolerate an inquisition? If it does not, whatever appears to advocate it, or has any dangerous appearance to the liberty of any person, or are there suspicions that there are instruments of torture secreted in cells under mass-houses, have not the American people a good right to examine? Have they not a right to search and investigate all these things? If it is an extraordinary thing for hundreds and thousands of Roman Catholic emigrants to be among us, should we not be on our watch? The question may be asked,—Have not the most powerful kingdoms and empires of Europe been shaken and brought into subjection by the intrigues and plots of Jesuit priests? and emperors suffering their necks to be trodden upon by the pope, through fear of their lives, by the pope's declaring their subjects free from allegiance to their sovereigns? And are they not aiming the blow at our republican institutions, to undermine our civil

and religious rights and privileges? Is it not time to be on our guard, before they shall gain the ascendancy? and we should look around us—the beasts of prey all about us—and already beginning to seize their victims—and we should then exclaim with sorrow, how have we been asleep while surrounded by our enemies! and now we cannot prevent the evil.

The following work, it is believed, will present an antidote to the insidious poison, attempted to be infused into the minds of the unestablished and ignorant, by the professors of popery and its self-styled “*liberal abettors*.” It is only necessary that the volume should be carefully and candidly read to convince us that the papal system is not that harmless, innocent thing, which some would represent. We wish not, indeed, that the papists should be persecuted; we would say, protect them in their private capacity, wherever they exist in the land; but beware of so encouraging them, as to bring the American people under their temporal and spiritual domination.

It may be said, indeed it is said, that the persecuting spirit of popery has passed away. But let it be remembered that persecution is *inseparable* from it—is its very *essence*. A Church, which pretends to be *infallible*, will always seek the destruction of those who dissent from it. Until some further proof is given to the world, than has yet been given of the more mild and pacific spirit of popery, we shall believe that it is still as intolerant as when it spread its desolating ravages through the unoffending valleys of Piedmont; or, at a subsequent period, lighted up the consuming fires of Smithfield.

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THE LIFE
OF THE
REV. JOHN FOX.

JOHN FOX was born at Boston, in Lincolnshire, in 1517, where his parents are stated to have lived in respectable circumstances. He was deprived of his father at an early age; and notwithstanding his mother soon married again, he still remained under the paternal roof. From an early display of talents and inclination to learning, his friends were induced to send him to Oxford, in order to cultivate and bring them to maturity. During his residence at this place, he was distinguished for the excellence and acuteness of his intellect, which was improved by the emulation of his fellow-collegians, united to an indefatigable zeal and industry on his part. These qualities soon gained him the admiration of all; and as a reward for his exertions and amiable conduct, he was chosen fellow of Magdalen college; which was accounted a great honour in the university, and seldom bestowed unless in cases of great distinction. It appears that the first display of his genius was in poetry; and that he composed some Latin comedies, which are still extant. But he soon directed his thoughts to a more serious subject, the study of the sacred Scriptures: to divinity, indeed, he applied himself with more fervency than circumspection, and discovered his partiality to the Reformation, which had then commenced, before he was known to its supporters or to those who protected them; a circumstance which proved to him the source of his first troubles.

He is said to have often affirmed, that the first matter which occasioned his search into the popish

doctrine, was, that he saw divers things, most repugnant in their nature to one another, forced upon men at the same time : upon this foundation his resolution and intended obedience to that church were somewhat shaken, and by degrees a dislike to the rest took place.

His first care was to look into both the ancient and modern history of the church ; to ascertain its beginning and progress ; to consider the causes of all those controversies which in the mean time had sprung up, and diligently to weigh their effects, solidity, infirmities, &c.

Before he had attained his thirtieth year, he had studied the Greek and Latin fathers, and other learned authors, the transactions of the councils, and decrees of the consistories, and had acquired a very competent skill in the Hebrew language. In these occupations he frequently spent a considerable part, or even the whole of the night ; and in order to unbend his mind after such incessant study, he would resort to a grove near the collage, a place much frequented by the students in the evening, on account of its sequestered gloominess. In these solitary walks he has been heard to ejaculate heavy sobs and sighs, and with tears to pour forth his prayers to God. These nightly retirements, in the sequel, gave rise to the first suspicion of his alienation from the church of Rome. Being pressed for an explanation of this alteration in his conduct, he scorned to call in fiction to his excuse ; he stated his opinions ; and was, by the sentence of the college, *convicted, condemned as an heretic, and expelled.*

His friends, upon the report of this circumstance, were highly offended, and especially his father-in-law, who was now grown altogether implacable, either through a real hatred conceived against him for this cause, or pretending himself aggrieved, that he might now, with more show of justice, or at least with more security, withhold from Mr. Fox his pa-

ternal estate; for he knew it could not be safe for one publicly hated, and in danger of the law, to seek a remedy for his injustice.

When he was thus forsaken by his own friends, a refuge offered itself in the house of Sir Thomas Lucy, of Warwickshire, by whom he was sent for, to instruct his children. In this house he afterwards married. But the fear of the popish inquisitors hastened his departure thence; as they were not contented to pursue public offences, but began also to dive into the secrets of private families. He now began to consider what was best to be done to free himself from further inconvenience, and resolved either to go to his wife's father, or to his father-in-law.

His wife's father was a citizen of Coventry, whose heart was not alienated from him, and he was more likely to be well entertained, for his daughter's sake. He resolved to go first to him; and, in the meanwhile, by letters, to try whether his father-in-law would receive him or not. This he accordingly did, and he received for answer, "that it seemed to him a hard condition to take one into his house whom he knew to be guilty, and condemned for a capital offence; neither was he ignorant what hazard he should undergo in so doing; he would however, show himself a kinsman, and neglect his own danger. If he would alter his mind, he might come, on condition to stay as long as he himself desired; but if he could not be persuaded to that, he must content himself with a shorter stay, and not bring him and his mother into danger."

No condition was to be refused; besides, he was secretly advised by his mother to come, and not to fear his father-in-law's severity; "for that, perchance, it was needful to write as he did, but when occasion should be offered, he would make recompense for his words with his actions." In fact, he was better received by both of them than he had hoped for.

By these means he kept himself concealed, for some time, and afterwards made a journey to London, in the latter part of the reign of Henry VIII. Here, being unknown, he was in much distress, and was even reduced to the danger of being starved to death, had not Providence interfered in his favour, in the following manner:

One day as Mr. Fox was sitting in St. Paul's church, exhausted with long fasting, a stranger took a seat by his side, and courteously saluted him, thrust a sum of money into his hand, and bade him cheer up his spirits; at the same time informing him, that in a few days new prospects would present themselves for his future subsistence. Who this stranger was, he could never learn; but at the end of three days, he received an invitation from the duchess of Richmond to undertake the tuition of the children of the earl of Surrey, who, together with his father the duke of Norfolk, was imprisoned in the Tower, by the jealousy and ingratitude of the king. The children thus confided to his care were, Thomas, who succeeded to the dukedom; Henry, afterwards earl of Northampton; and Jane, who became countess of Westmoreland. In the performance of his duties he fully satisfied the expectation of the duchess, their aunt.

These halcyon days continued during the latter part of the reign of Henry VIII. and the five years of the reign of Edward VI. till Mary came to the crown, who, soon after her accession, gave all power into the hands of the papists.

At this time Mr. Fox, who was still under the protection of his noble pupil, the duke, began to excite the envy and hatred of many, particularly Dr. Gardiner, then bishop of Winchester, who, in the sequel became his most violent enemy.

Mr. Fox, aware of this, and seeing the dreadful persecution then commencing, began to think of quitting the kingdom. As soon as the duke knew his intention, he endeavoured to persuade him to remain.

and his arguments were so powerful, and given with so much sincerity, that he gave up the thought of abandoning his asylum for the present.

At that time the bishop of Winchester was very intimate with the duke, (by the patronage of whose family he had risen to the dignity he then enjoyed,) and frequently waited on him to present his service; when he several times requested that he might see his old tutor. At first the duke denied his request, at one time alleging his absence, at another, indisposition. At length it happened that Mr. Fox, not knowing the bishop was in the house, entered the room where the duke and he were in discourse; and seeing the bishop, withdrew. Gardiner asked who that was, the duke answered, "his physician, who was somewhat uncourtly, as being new come from the university."—"I like his countenance and aspect very well," replied the bishop, "and when occasion offers, I will send for him." The duke understood that speech as the messenger of some approaching danger; and now he himself thought it high time for Mr. Fox to quit the city, and even the country. He accordingly caused every thing necessary for his flight to be provided in silence, by sending one of his servants to Ipswich to hire a bark, and prepare all the requisites for his departure. He also fixed on the house of one of his servants, who was a farmer, where he might lodge till the wind became favourable; and every thing being in readiness, Mr. Fox took leave of his noble patron, and with his wife, who was pregnant at the time, secretly departed for the ship.

The vessel was scarcely under sail, when a most violent storm came on, which lasted all the day and night, and the next day drove them back to the port from which they had departed. During the time that the vessel had been at sea, an officer, despatched by the bishop of Winchester, had broken open the house of the farmer, with a warrant to apprehend

Mr. Fox wherever he might be found, and bring him back to the city. On hearing this news, he hired a horse under the pretence of leaving the town immediately ; but secretly returned the same night, and agreed with the captain of the vessel to sail for any place as soon as the wind should shift, only desiring him to proceed, and not to doubt but that God would prosper his undertaking. The mariner suffered himself to be persuaded, and within two days landed his passengers in safety at Nieuport.

After spending a few days at that place, Mr. Fox set out for Basle, where he found a number of English refugees, who had quitted their country to avoid the cruelty of the persecutors ; with these he associated, and began to write his "History of the Acts and Monuments of the Church," which was first published in Latin at Basle, and shortly after in English.

In the mean time the reformed religion began again to flourish in England, and the popish faction much to decline, by the death of queen Mary ; which induced the greater number of the protestant exiles to return to their native country.

Among others, on the accession of Elizabeth to the throne, Mr. Fox returned to England ; where, on his arrival, he found a faithful and active friend in his late pupil, the duke of Norfolk, till death deprived him of his benefactor : after which event, Mr. Fox inherited a pension bequeathed to him by the duke, and ratified by his son the earl of Suffolk.

Nor did the good man's successes stop here. On being recommended to the queen, by her secretary of state, the great Cecil, her majesty granted him the prebendary of Shipton, in the cathedral of Salisbury, which was, in a manner, forced upon him ; for it was with difficulty that he could be persuaded to accept of it.

On his resettlement in England, he employed himself in revising and enlarging his admirable Martyrology. With prodigious pains, and constant study,

he completed that celebrated work in eleven years. For the sake of greater correctness, he wrote every line of this vast book with his own hand, and transcribed all the records and papers himself. But, in consequence of such excessive toil, leaving no part of his time free from study, nor affording himself either the repose or recreation which nature required, his health was so reduced, and his person became so emaciated and altered, that such of his friends and relations as only conversed with him occasionally, could scarcely recognise his person. Yet, though he grew daily more exhausted, he proceeded in his studies as briskly as ever, nor would he be persuaded to diminish his accustomed labours. The papists, foreseeing how detrimental his history of their errors and cruelties would prove to their cause, had recourse to every artifice to lessen the reputation of his work; but their malice was of signal service, both to Mr. Fox himself, and to the church of God at large, as it eventually made his book more intrinsically valuable, by inducing him to weigh, with the most scrupulous attention, the certainty of the facts which he recorded, and the validity of the authorities from which he drew his information.

But while he was thus indefatigably employed in promoting the cause of truth, he did not neglect the other duties of his station: he was charitable, humane, and attentive to the wants, both spiritual and temporal, of his neighbours. With the view of being more extensively useful, although he had no desire to cultivate the acquaintance of the rich and great on his own account, he did not decline the friendship of those in a higher rank who proffered it, and never failed to employ his influence with them in behalf of the poor and needy. In consequence of his well known probity and charity, he was frequently presented with sums of money by persons possessed of wealth, which he accepted and distributed among those who were distressed. He would also occasionally attend the ta-

ble of his friends, not so much for the sake of pleasure, as from civility, and to convince them that his absence was not occasioned by a fear of being exposed to the temptations of the appetite. In short, his character, as a man and as a Christian, was without reproach.

Of the esteem in which he was held, the names of the following respectable friends and noble patrons, will afford ample proof. It has been already mentioned that the attachment of the duke of Norfolk was so great to his tutor, that he granted him a pension for life; he also enjoyed the patronage of the earls of Bedford and Warwick, and the intimate friendship of sir Francis Walsingham (secretary of state,) sir Thomas and Mr. Michael Hennage, of whom he was frequently heard to observe, that sir Thomas had every requisite for a complete courtier, but that Mr. Michael possessed all the merits of his brother besides his own, still untainted by the court. He was on very intimate and affectionate terms with sir Drue Drury; sir Francis Drake; Dr. Grindal, archbishop of Canterbury; Dr. Elmar, bishop of London; Dr. Pilkington, bishop of Durham; and Dr. Nowell, dean of St. Paul's. Others of his most intimate acquaintances and friends were, Doctors Humphrey, Whitaker, and Fulk; Mr. John Crowly, and Mr. Baldwin Collins. Among the eminent citizens, we find he was much venerated by sir Thomas Gresham, sir Thomas Roe, alderman Bacchus, Mr. Smith, Mr. Dale, Mr. Sherrington, &c. &c.

At length, having long served both the church and the world by his ministry, by his pen, and by the unsullied lustre of a benevolent, useful, and holy life, he meekly resigned his soul to Christ, on the 18th of April, 1587, being then in the seventieth year of his age. He was interred in the chancel of St. Giles's, Cripplegate; of which parish he had been, in the beginning of Elizabeth's reign, for some time vicar.

The Lord had given him a foresight of his depart-

ure ; and so fully was he assured that the time was just at hand when his soul should quit the body, that (probably to enjoy unmolested communion with God, and to have no worldly interruptions in his last hours) he purposely sent his two sons from home, though he loved them with great tenderness ; and, before they returned, his spirit, as he had foreseen would be the case, had flown to heaven.

His death occasioned great lamentations throughout the city, and his funeral was honoured with a great concourse of people, each of whom appeared to bewail the loss of a father or a brother.



INTRODUCTION.

THAT the introduction of Christianity into the world, considering the character of its Divine Founder, and the nature and tendency of its doctrines and precepts, should have ever given birth to *persecution*, may well appear surprising. The Son of God is described to us, as "meek and lowly," as "holy and harmless;" never did any other on earth give so illustrious an example of benevolence, patience, and kindness. So far from manifesting a persecuting spirit himself, he suffered reproaches and indignities without a murmur. "When reviled, he reviled not again;" but gave a high and noble exhibition of that self-denial, meekness, and fortitude, which he enjoined his followers to practise after him. Nay, so far from encouraging any methods of persecution, he rebuked and put a stop to every appearance of them. Thus, when his disciples would have called down fire from Heaven, to consume the Samaritans, who refused to receive him, he rebuked them, saying, "Ye know not what manner of spirit ye are of; the Son of Man is not come to destroy men's lives, but to save them;" and when one of those who were with Christ, cut off the ear of one of the high priest's servants, upon his laying his hands on him, he severely reprov'd him: "Put up again thy sword into its place; for all they that take the sword, shall perish with the sword." And, in order to cure his apostles of their ambition and pride, and to prevent their claiming undue power, he gave them an example of great humility and condescension, in washing and wiping their feet; and forbid them imitating the "Gentiles, by exercising dominion and authority; but whosoever will be great amongst you, let him be

your minister ; and whosoever will be chief amongst you, let him be your servant ; even as the Son of Man came not to be ministered unto, but to minister, and to give his life for many." And as the Jewish teachers took on them the name of Rabbi, to denote their power over the consciences of those they instructed, he commanded his disciples : " Be ye not called Rabbi, for one is your master, even Christ, and all ye are brethren ; and call no man father, for one is your father which is in Heaven ; but he that is greatest among you, shall be your servant." And it is, moreover, certain, that were Christ's doctrines and precepts regarded and practised as they should be, universal benevolence would be the certain effect, and eternal peace and union would reign amongst the members of the Christian Church. For if there be any commands of certain clearness, any precepts of evident obligation in the gospel, they are such as refer to the exercise of love, and the maintenance of universal charity. " Blessed are the *meek*," we hear the Saviour proclaiming, " for they shall inherit the earth. Blessed are the *peace-makers*, for they shall be called the children of God." And in another place, describing the nature of religion in general, he tells us, that the love of God is the first commandment ; and the second like unto it—thou shalt *love thy neighbour as thyself*. This he enjoins upon his disciples, as his *peculiar* command : " This is my commandment, that ye love one another, as I have loved you." Nay, love was that by which his followers were to be distinguished from all others. " A new commandment I give unto you, that ye love one another ; as I have loved you, that ye, also, love one another. By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye have love one to another." Thus it is evident, that there is nothing in the life of Jesus Christ, in his doctrines, or precepts, which gives any countenance to those wicked methods of propagating and supporting religion, that some of his pretend-

and followers have made use of, but the strongest directions to the contrary.

Christ commanded his disciples to love their enemies ; and to do good to them that hated them ; and to pray for them that despitefully used them. And he told them that some of them would be put to death for his name's sake. And when he himself was suffering on the cross, he gave his disciples this striking example of his forgiving spirit toward his murderers, while he thus prayed : " Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do." And we see that his apostles possessed the same spirit. Stephen prayed for his murderers when they were stoning him to death ; he made no resistance ; and all the apostles manifested the same Christlike spirit toward their persecutors.

How inconsistent then, to pretend to the Christian name, and yet justify persecution and bloodshed to promote Christianity, while we have both the precept and example both of Christ and his apostles, that they did not so much as resist in the least degree those who were murdering them.

The case of Annanias and Sapphira, adduced by Beza to justify the punishment of heretics, how impertinently alleged ! and that of Elymas the sorcerer equally so. Annanias and Sapphira were struck dead by the immediate hand of God. Peter gave them suitable reproof for their wickedness, but he laid no violent hands on them ; but God saw fit to make them an example for their wickedness, and struck them dead. Elymas was a Jewish sorcerer, who sought to turn the deputy from the faith that Paul was preaching to him and instructing him in : the sorcerer endeavoured to hinder his conversion. Paul therefore, in order to confirm his own mission, and to prevent the deputy's being deceived by the fraud and sorceries of Elymas, after severely rebuking him for his wickedness in opposing the gospel, tells him that God would decide the controversy by imme-

diately striking the sorcerer blind, which came to pass immediately to the full conviction of the deputy, who then became established in the Christian faith. But there is nothing in all this to justify persecution, nor in any part of the New Testament.

To the candid and unprejudiced mind, the preceding view of the subject will be sufficient, it is believed, to justify the conclusion, that neither the doctrines, precepts, nor conduct of Christ, nor those of his apostles, can in the remotest degree give any sanction to the spirit, nor to any of the forms of persecution. But to the omniscient eye of Christ, it was not concealed, that the promulgation of Christianity would lead to persecutions of the most grievous kind, both from opposers and pretended friends. To these approaching persecutions; to these most bitter and grievous days of trial and calamity to his faithful followers, Christ, as a true prophet of God, often alluded. He spoke of them as certain, as seasons which would try the faith, and sincerity, and patience of his followers; at the same time, he bid them "put a heavenly courage on;" since, by an exhibition of faith, fortitude, and constancy, they would give proof of the sustaining power of his gospel, and through such abundant tribulations would be prepared for a more abundant weight of glory. To his disciples, who would lead in "the noble army of Martyrs," he strongly represented the dangers which would come upon them. "They will deliver you," says he, "up to councils; they will scourge you in the synagogues; you shall be hated of all men for my sake; nay, the time cometh, when they will think they are doing God service, by putting you to death." And alluding to a consequence of the promulgation of the gospel, viz. the prevalence of persecution, the result of pride, envy, malice, and a love of power, he says, "Think not that I come to send peace, but a sword, for I am come to set a man at variance with his father, and the daughter against her mother," &c. And again, "I am come to send fire on the earth: and what will I, if it be already kind-

led? Suppose ye that I am come to send peace on earth? I tell you nay, but rather division." How is it explained by Christ himself? Why in the very next words: "For from henceforth," i. e. upon the publication of my religion and gospel, "there shall be five in one house divided, three against two, and two against three," &c. Can any man need paraphrase and criticism to explain these passages of any thing but of that persecution which should befall the preachers and believers of the gospel? or imagine it to be a prophetic description of a fire to be blown up by Christ to consume others, when the whole connection evidently refers it to a fire, that the opposers of his religion should blow up, to consume himself and followers? Jesus knew it was such a fire, as would first consume himself. "I am come to send fire on the earth; and what will I, if it be already kindled?" or, as the words should be translated, "How do I wish it was already kindled? How do I wish it to break out on my own person, that I might glorify God by my sufferings and death?" For as it follows, "I have a baptism to be baptized with," a baptism with my own blood; "and how am I straitened till it be accomplished?" After this account of his own sufferings, he foretels the same should befall his followers: "Suppose ye that I am come to give peace on earth? I tell you nay, but rather division;" i. e. as I myself must suffer to bear witness to the truth, so after my decease, such shall be the unreasonable and furious opposition to my gospel, as shall occasion divisions amongst the nearest relations, some of whom shall hate and persecute the other for their embracing my religion.*

Agreeably to these predictions of our Saviour, soon after he had himself ascended to heaven, and while the apostles were yet publishing abroad the doctrine of Christianity, began those furious persecutions by the Romans, which for three hundred years, or to

* Chandler's History of Persecution, *ut supra*.

about the time of Constantine, carried thousands and tens of thousands by barbarities the most shocking, and by tortures the most excruciating and terrific, to their graves ; thus rendering a profession of the gospel almost a sure passport to suffering and death.

As an account of these perilous days—of the deep-rooted malice and blood-thirsty spirit of barbarians, urged on by the influence of the powers of darkness, will be found in the former part of the volume, they will not be noticed farther in this place. Yet a natural curiosity may lead us to inquire by what means it happened that the Romans, who were troublesome to no nation on account of their religion, and who suffered even the Jews to live under their own laws, and to follow their own method of worship, almost immediately, on the promulgation of Christianity, began to persecute its professors.

“One of the principal reasons,” says Dr. Mosheim, “of the severity with which the Romans persecuted the Christians, seems to have been the abhorrence and contempt with which the latter regarded the religion of the empire, which was so intimately connected with the form, and, indeed, with the very essence of its political constitution. For, though the Romans gave an unlimited toleration to all religions, which had nothing in their tenets dangerous to the commonwealth, yet they would not permit that of their ancestors, which was established by the laws of the state, to be turned into derision, nor the people to be drawn away from their attachment to it. These, however, were the two things which the Christians were charged with, and that justly, though to their honour. They dared to ridicule the absurdities of the Pagan superstition, and they were ardent and assiduous in gaining proselytes to the truth. Nor did they only attack the religion of Rome, but also all the different shapes and forms, under which superstition appeared in the various countries, where they exercise their ministry. From hence the Romans concluded, that the Chris-

tian sect was not only unsupportably daring and arrogant, but moreover an enemy to the public tranquillity, and every way proper to excite civil wars and commotions in the empire. It is, probably, on this account, that Tacitus reproaches them with the odious character of *haters of mankind*, and styles the religion of Jesus a *destructive superstition*; and that Suetonius speaks of the Christians, and their doctrines, in terms of the same kind.

“Another circumstance that irritated the Romans against the Christians, was the simplicity of their worship, which resembled in nothing the sacred rites of any other people. The Christians had neither sacrifices, nor temples, nor images, nor oracles, nor sacerdotal orders; and this was sufficient to bring upon them the reproaches of an ignorant multitude, who imagined that there could be no religion without these. Thus, they were looked upon as a sort of atheists; and, by the Roman laws, those who were chargeable with atheism were declared the pests of human society. But this was not all; the sordid interests of a multitude of lazy and selfish priests, were immediately connected with the ruin and oppression of the Christian cause. The public worship of such an immense number of deities was a source of subsistence, and even of riches, to the whole rabble of priests and augurs, and also to a multitude of merchants and artists. And, as the progress of the gospel threatened the ruin of this religious traffic, and the profit it produced, this raised up new enemies to the Christians, and armed the rage of mercenary superstition against their lives and their cause.”*

To this explanation given by Mosheim, may be added, in substance, the explanation of bishop Warburton, which is still more lucid and satisfactory. *Intercommunity of worship*, according to the latter, was a principle, which run through the whole pagan world. Every religion was tolerated, while its advocates claim-

* Mosheim, vol. i. p. 72.

ed for it no exclusive superiority. Hence it was not until after the return of the Jews from captivity, that they were treated by their neighbours, and afterwards by the Greeks and Romans, with hatred and contempt; since they seem not so openly to have claimed that their religion was the only true one in the world. This pretension to superiority and to exclusive divine origin, was the grand cause of the general odium cast upon the Jews by the Pagan world.

When Christianity arose, though on the foundation of Judaism, it was at first received by Pagan nations with complacency. The gospel was favourably heard, and the superior evidence with which it was enforced, inclined men, long habituated to pretended revelations, to receive it into the number of the established. Accordingly we find one Roman Emperor introducing it among his closet religions; and another proposing to the Senate to give it a more public entertainment. But, when it was found to carry its pretensions higher, and, like the Jewish, to claim the title of the *only true one*, then it was, that it began to incur the same hatred and contempt with the Jewish. But, when it went still further, and urged the necessity of all men forsaking their own national religions and embracing the gospel, this so shocked the Pagans that it soon brought upon itself the bloody storm which followed. Thus you have the true origin of persecution for religion; a persecution not committed, but undergone by the Christian church.*

The Pagan persecutions appear to have continued until about the time of Constantine, during whose reign the fall of Paganism began to take place, and was nearly consummated in that of Theodosius.

Having noticed the persecutions which occurred under the reign of Paganism, and assigned the causes which led those nations which were Pagan, so powerfully to enlist themselves against Christianity, we shall next notice the persecutions which were com-

* Divine Legation of Moses, vol. ii. 6, 2, § 6, &c.

menced and carried forward under the influence of the Roman Hierarchy. These persecutions, the reader will notice, occupied by far the greater part of the volume. As these persecutions are of a more recent date, as they were conducted by the *pretended friends* of Christianity, and as the spirit of that system still prevails in nearly every country on the globe, no apology, it is thought, will be necessary, for occupying so large a space in the developement of the spirit and tendency of the papal system.

The *rise* of such a power is clearly predicted in the scriptures. Even in the days of the apostles, there were not wanting symptoms of the approaching wide-spread corruption.

When the Apostle Paul delivered to the elders of the church at Ephesus, a solemn warning to take heed to themselves, and to the flock over which the Holy Ghost had made them overseers, he adds, as the reason of it, "for I know this, that after my departure shall grievous wolves enter in among you, not sparing the flock; also of your own selves shall men arise, speaking perverse things, to draw away disciples after them." Acts xx. 29, 30. The jealousy and fear which he entertained relative to the influence of false teachers, is manifest in the following passage. "But I fear, lest by any means, as the serpent beguiled Eve, through his subtlety, so your minds should be corrupted from the simplicity that is in Christ. For such are false apostles, deceitful workers, transforming themselves into the apostles of Christ: and no wonder, for Satan himself is transformed into an angel of light; therefore it is no great thing if his ministers also be transformed into ministers of righteousness." (2 Cor. xi, 3, 13, 14, 15.) The same general caution against the effects which should proceed from false teachers, is very plainly given by the apostle Peter. "But there were false prophets also among the people, even as there shall be false teachers among you, who privily shall bring

in damnable heresies, even denying the Lord that bought them, and bringing upon themselves swift destruction. And many shall follow their pernicious ways, by reason of whom the way of truth shall be evil spoken of. And through covetousness shall they with feigned words make merchandise of you, whose judgment now of a long time lingereth not, and their damnation slumbereth not." 2 Pet. ii. 1—3. To these passages, and many others that might be adduced, as calculated to awaken the attention of Christians to the dangers they should be exposed to from corrupt teachers, we may particularly add the following, as it not only foretels, but describes, the nature of the apostacy that should take place, and at a period remote from the time when the predictions were delivered. "Now the spirit speaketh expressly, that in the latter times some shall depart from the faith, giving heed to seducing spirits and doctrines of devils; speaking lies in hypocrisy, having their consciences seared with a hot iron; forbidding to marry, and commanding to abstain from meats, which God hath created to be received with thanksgiving of them who believe and know the truth." 1 Tim. iv. 1—3. Again. "This know also, that in the last days perilous times shall come, for men shall be lovers of their own selves, covetous, proud, blasphemers, disobedient to parents, unthankful, unholy, without natural affection, truce breakers, false accusers, incontinent, fierce, despisers of those that are good, traitors, heady, high minded, lovers of pleasure more than lovers of God;—having a form of godliness, but denying the power thereof." 2 Tim. iii. 1—3. But of all the predictions contained in the New Testament, the most particular and express description of the anti-christian power that should arise under the Christian name, is the following: "Now we beseech you, brethren, by the coming of the Lord Jesus Christ, and by our gathering together unto him, that ye be not soon shaken in mind, or be troubled; neither by

spirit, nor by word, nor by letter as from us, as that the day of Christ is at hand. Let no man deceive you by any means: for that day shall not come except there be a falling away first, and that *man of sin* be revealed, the son of perdition, who opposeth and exalteth himself above all that is called God, or that is worshipped; so that he as God sitteth in the temple of God, shewing himself that he is God. Remember ye not, that when I was yet with you, I told you these things? And now ye know what withholdeth that he might be revealed in his time. For the mystery of iniquity doth already work: only he who now letteth will let, until he be taken out of the way; and then shall that wicked be revealed, whom the Lord shall consume with the spirit of his mouth, and shall destroy with the brightness of his coming; even him whose coming is after the working of Satan, with all power, and signs and lying wonders; and with all deceivableness of unrighteousness in them that perish, because they received not the love of the truth, that they might be saved." 2 Thess. ii. 1—10.

"In this representation of the apostacy from the purity of the Christian faith and its influence, which terminated in the man of sin sitting in the temple of God, we may notice the following particulars:

"1. That the apostle describes its origin as taking place in his own day. 'The mystery of iniquity doth already work,' verse 7. The seed was then sown, idolatry was already stealing into the churches. 1 Cor. x. 14. A voluntary humility and worshipping of angels. Col. ii. 18. Men of corrupt minds, destitute of the truth, supposing that gain was godliness, and teaching things which they ought not, for filthy lucre's sake. Men of this class appear to have early abounded, and, as acting not wholly in direct opposition to Christianity, but corrupting it in the way of deceit and hypocrisy. During the whole progress towards the full revelation of the man of sin, there

was no direct disavowal of the truth of Christianity ; it was a form of godliness without the power of it.

"2. There is an evident intimation in this passage, of an obstacle or hinderance in the way of this power being fully revealed. 'And now ye know what withholdeth that he might be revealed in his time. For the mystery of iniquity doth already work, only he who now letteth will let, until he be taken out of the way. And then shall that wicked be revealed,' &c. ver. 6, 7. Without going into any minute and critical examination of these verses, it is obvious that the wicked power which is here the subject of the apostle's discourse, and denominated the man of sin, had not been fully displayed, and that there existed some obstacle to a complete revelation of the mystery of iniquity. The apostle uses a particular caution when hinting at it ; but the Thessalonians, he says, knew of it, probably from the explanation he had given them verbally, when he was with them. It can scarcely be questioned, that the hinderance or obstacle referred to in these words, was the *heathen* or *Pagan Roman government*, which acted as a restraint upon the pride and domination of the clergy, through whom the man of sin ultimately arrived at his power and authority, as will afterwards appear. The extreme caution which the apostle manifests in speaking of this restraint, renders it not improbable that it was something relating to the higher powers, for we can easily conceive how improper it would have been, to declare in plain terms that the existing government of Rome should come to an end. There is a remarkable passage in Tertullian's Apology, that may serve to justify the sense which Protestants put upon these verses ; and since it was written long before the accomplishment of the predictions, it deserves the more attention. 'Christians,' says he, 'are under a particular necessity of praying for the emperor, and for the continued state of the empire ; because we know that dreadful power which hangs over the world, and

the conclusion of the age, which threatens the most horrible evils, is restrained by the continuance of the time appointed for the Roman empire. This is what we would not experience ; and while we pray that it may be deferred, we hereby show our good will to the perpetuity of the Roman state.' From this extract, it is very manifest that the Christians, even in Tertullian's time, a hundred and twenty years before the Pagan government of Rome came to an end, looked forward to that period as pregnant with calamity to the cause of Christ ; though it is probable they did not accurately understand the manner in which the evils should be brought on the church. And this, indeed, the event proved to be the case. For while the long and harassing persecutions which were carried on by the Pagan Roman emperors continued, and all secular advantages were on the side of Paganism, there was little encouragement for any one to embrace Christianity, who did not discern somewhat of its truth and excellence. Many of the errors, indeed, of several centuries, the fruit of vain philosophy, paved the way for the events which followed ; but the hinderance was not effectually removed, until Constantine the emperor, on professing himself a Christian, undertook to convert the kingdom of Christ into a kingdom of this world, by exalting the teachers of Christianity to the same state of affluence, grandeur, and influence in the empire, as had been enjoyed by pagan priests and secular officer in the state. The professed ministers of Jesus having now a wide field opened to them, for gratifying their lust of power, wealth, and dignity, the connection between the Christian faith and the cross was at an end. What followed was the kingdom of the clergy, supplanting the kingdom of Jesus Christ.

"3. It is worthy of observation, in what language the apostle describes the revelation of the man of sin when this hinderance, or let, should be removed.

"And then shall that wicked be revealed, whose

coming is after the working of Satan, with all power, and signs, and lying wonders, and with all deceivableness of unrighteousness in them that perish. "He had before described this power, and personified him as "the son of perdition, who opposeth and exalteth himself above all that is called God, or that is worshipped ; so that he as God, sitteth in the temple of God, showing himself that he is God."

"Every feature in this description corresponds to that of a religious power, in the assumption of divine authority, divine honours, and divine worship ; a power which should arrogate the prerogatives of the MOST HIGH, having its seat in the temple or house of God, and which should be carried on by Satan's influence, with all deceit, hypocrisy, and tyranny ; and with this corresponds the figurative representation given of the same power. Rev. xiii. 5—8."*

Thus clearly predicted in the scriptures is this mystery of iniquity, and of which during the apostolic days there were indications of its having begun to work. From the time of Constantine, however, the great obstruction, viz., Paganism, which had hitherto operated against the full manifestation of the anti-christian power, being removed, the current of events brought matters to that state in which the man of sin was fully revealed, sitting in the temple of God, and showing himself to be God.

The corruption of Christianity, however, was not effected in a day. Under Constantine, Christianity became the religion of the state. In consequence of this, the power and wealth of the clergy were greatly augmented. Contests among bishops for pre-eminence became frequent, and were conducted with a spirit wholly at variance with the genius of the gospel. Power now became an engine of support to different factions, and the sword of persecution, which for three centuries had been drawn by the Pagans against the followers of Christ, the besotted ecclesi-

* Jones. History of the Christian Church, p. 154, &c.

astics employed against each other, in defence of what was now called the "Holy Catholic Church."

After a long and violent contest between the bishops of Rome, Constantinople, Antioch, and Alexandria, particularly the former two, the bishop of Rome at length succeeded in triumphing over all others, being in the year 606 invested with the proud title of *universal bishop*. This may be considered as the date of the establishment of the papal power, although this was not the period of its full growth.

The *causes*, which contributed to the growth of this gigantic power, must be sought in the pages of Ecclesiastical History. It may not be amiss, however, to notice some of the principal circumstances which contributed to the lordly sway and extended influence of the Roman pontiffs, and their clergy, viz.: *the pretended infallibility of the Pope—the decrees of councils—the preference given to human compositions over the Bible—the introduction of image-worship—the passion for relics and saints—the sale of indulgences, and free absolution—the doctrine of purgatory—the establishment of the order of Jesuits, and the Inquisition*. By these, and other means, the papal power continued for several centuries to gather strength, until, at length, it reached a point to which the annals of history furnish no parallel. Whoever ventured to lift his voice in opposition to the unwarrantable claims of the sovereign pontiffs, or to decry the authority of their clergy, were sure to bring down upon them a tide of papal wrath and vengeance. Previously to the reformation, many had been cruelly sacrificed for their honest opposition to papal usurpation: but during the progress of that glorious revolution, and after its establishment, martyrs to the cause of truth and gospel simplicity were increased an hundred, if not a thousand fold.

In the following pages the reader will find a developement of some of the works of Popish arrogance, cruelty, and superstition. When he has at-

tentively gone through the volume, let him ask himself, whether a system which authorizes and sanctions such cruelties, can be the offspring of, or compatible with, the gospel of Christ Jesus? "By their fruits," says our Saviour, "shall ye know them." It is not their words, but their *works*, we should consider. What quarter of the globe has escaped the ravages of their power? If we look to the East, China and Japan, where they once bore rule, exhibit the most cruel and bloody massacres ever heard of, *because their satellites aimed at political power, to the overthrow of the lawful governments.* If we look to America, where their power was supreme, we freeze with horror at the wanton barbarities inflicted upon the heathen. If we cast our eyes over Europe, the seat of their authority, we again see the like tragedies exhibited; witness in France the massacre of St. Bartholomew, the revocation of the edict of Nantz, the extermination of the Waldenses and Albigenses, the cruel expulsions in Spain, and above all, the cruel and bloody inquisition, a court which they call holy, but surely the most accursed on earth. If we turn our eyes to England, we see the stakes in Smithfield, and the fires lighted to consume the bodies of those holy martyrs, who gave up their lives courageously in defence of their religion; we see the vile mysteries of iniquity discovered at the suppression of the monasteries, and the shameful practices exposed, by which the priests deluded the people. I will not recur to other persecutions, but ask; "Is this the religion of the meek Jesus, or is it not rather the triumph of Satan over fallen man?"

We cannot more appropriately close this part of our subject, than with the following extracts from Mr. Goring's "Thoughts on the Revelations," in which he contrasts the character of our blessed Saviour, and of those men who presume to call themselves his "substitutes on earth."

“ Jesus Christ, as one of his last acts, left mankind this new law, ‘ Love one another, as I have loved you ; by this shall all men know that ye are my disciples.’ Popery hates all that are not of its communion, and condemns them soul and body to the pit. The blessed Saviour declared his kingdom was not of this world, being spiritual ; that he judged no man, but that the words he uttered should judge them in the last day. The Popes claim the dominion of the whole earth, spiritual and temporal ; they wear a triple crown, and pretend to judge all men. The Saviour, previous to his death, condescended to wash his disciples’ feet, assuring them they should have no part in him unless they submitted to it. The Popes, so far from submitting to this lesson of humility, arrogantly permit them to kiss their feet. Our blessed Lord claimed not a spot upon earth, nor had he a place where to lay his head ; to him, sufficient for the day was the evil thereof, both with respect to food and raiment—not so the Popes ; from their votaries they extort the scanty gains of the sweat of their brows, go gorgeously attired, and feed sumptuously every day. Our Saviour freely pardoned the sins of his penitent creatures without fee or reward ; the Popes presume to pardon sins ; nay, grant indulgences for committing more ; but it is for money and the sordid lucre of gain.

“ Can any man find a resemblance in these two characters ? Is not the counterfeit easily discovered ; and will not men blush with shame when they see how grossly they have been deluded by this deceiver ? Let them but fairly read the gospel of Jesus Christ ; they will there find he delegated his power to no man in the way the Popes claim it, and that he alone is the intercessor between God and man, and no man can approach God but through him.”

We are convinced that there are no true christians, who will not agree unequivocally in the justice of the above observations. They *must* be convinced

that Popery is absurd, superstitious, idolatrous, and cruel ; that it darkens the understanding, and enslaves the consciences of its votaries, and is as much an enemy to virtue as to truth.

FOX'S BOOK OF MARTYRS.

BOOK I.

History of the first ten persecutions of the Primitive Church, from the year of our Lord 67, till the time of Constantine the Great; detailing the lives and actions of the principal Christian martyrs of both sexes, in Europe and in Africa.

THE dreadful martyrdoms which we are now about to describe, arose from the persecutions of the Romans against the Christians, in the primitive ages of the church, during the space of three hundred years, or till the time of Constantine.

It is both wonderful and horrible, to peruse the descriptions of the sufferings of these godly martyrs, as they are described by the ancient historians. Their torments were as various as the ingenuity of man, urged on by the malicious influence of Satan, could devise; and their numbers were truly incredible.

The first martyr to our holy religion was its blessed Founder himself. His history is sufficiently known, as it has been handed down to us in the New Testament; nevertheless, it will be proper here to give an outline of his sufferings, and more particularly as they will be followed by those of the apostles and evangelists. The persecutions by the emperors took place long after the death of our Saviour.

Brief History of our Saviour.

It is known that in the reign of Herod, the angel Gabriel was sent by divine command to the Virgin Mary. This maiden was betrothed to a carpenter named Joseph, who resided at Nazareth, a city of Galilee. The angel informed Mary how highly she

was favoured of God, and that she should conceive a son by the Holy Spirit, which happened accordingly; for travelling to Bethlehem, to pay the capitation-tax then levied, the town was so crowded that they could only get lodgings in a stable, where Mary gave birth to our blessed Redeemer, which was announced to the world by a star and an angel; the wise men of the east saw the former, and the shepherds the latter.

After Jesus had been circumcised, he was presented in the temple by his mother; upon which occasion Simcon exclaimed in the celebrated words recorded by Luke: "Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, according to thy word, for mine eyes have seen thy salvation." Luke ii. 29, 30.

Jesus in his youth disputed with the most learned doctors in the temple, and soon after was baptized by John in the river Jordan, when the Holy Ghost descended upon him in the form of a dove, and a voice was heard audibly to pronounce these words: "This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased."

After this, Christ fasted forty days and nights in the wilderness, where he was tempted by the devil, but resisted all his allurements. He performed his first miracle at Cana, in Galilee; he likewise conversed with the good Samaritan, and restored to life a nobleman's dead child. While travelling through Galilee, he restored the blind to sight, and cured the lame, the lepers, &c. Among other benevolent actions, he cured, at the pool of Bethesda, a paralytic man who had been lame thirty-eight years, bidding him take up his bed and walk; and he afterwards cured a man whose right hand was shrunk up and withered; with many acts of a similar nature.

When he had chosen his twelve apostles, he preached the celebrated sermon upon the mount; after which he performed several miracles, particularly the feeding of the multitude, and the walking on the surface of the sea.

On the celebration of the Passover, Jesus supped with his disciples: he informed them that one of them would betray him and another deny him, and preached his farewell sermon. A multitude of armed men soon afterwards surrounded him, and Judas kissed him, in order to point him out to the soldiers, who were not acquainted with his person. In the contention occasioned by the apprehension of Jesus, Peter cut off the ear of Malchus, the servant of the high priest, for which Jesus reprov'd him, and, by touching the wound, healed it. Peter and John followed Jesus to the house of Annas, who, refusing to judge him, sent him bound to Caiaphas, where Peter denied Christ, as the latter had predicted; but on Christ reminding him of his perfidy, Peter went out and wept bitterly.

When the council had assembled in the morning, the Jews mocked Jesus, and the elders suborned false witnesses against him; the principal accusation being, that he had said, "I will destroy this temple that is made with hands, and within three days I will build another made without hands." Caiaphas then asked him if he was the Christ, the Son of God, or not: being answered in the affirmative, he was accused of blasphemy, and condemned to death by Pontius Pilate, the Roman governor, who, though conscious of his innocence, yielded to the solicitations of the Jews, and condemned him to be crucified. His remarkable expression at the time of passing sentence, proved how much he was convinced that the Lord was persecuted.

Previous to the crucifixion, the Jews, by way of derision, clothed Christ in a regal robe, put a crown of thorns upon his head, and a reed, for a sceptre, in his hand; they then mocked him with ironical compliments, spit in his face, slapped his cheek, and taking the reed out of his hand, they struck him with it upon the head. Pilate would fain have released him, but the general cry was, Crucify him, crucify

him; which occasioned the governor to call for a basin of water, and having washed his hands, he declared himself innocent of the blood of Christ, whom he termed a just person. But the Jews said, Let his blood be upon us, and our children; and the governor found himself obliged to comply with their wishes, which wish has manifestly taken place, as they have never since been a collected people.

While leading Christ to the place of crucifixion, they obliged him to bear the cross, which being afterwards unable to sustain, they compelled one Simon, a native of Cyrenia, to carry it the rest of the way. Mount Calvary was fixed on for the place of execution, where having arrived, the soldiers offered him a mixture of gall and vinegar to drink, which he refused. Having stripped him, they nailed him to the cross, and crucified him between two malefactors. After being fastened to the cross, he uttered this benevolent prayer for his enemies: "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do." The soldiers who crucified him, being four in number, now cut his mantle to pieces, and divided it between them; but his coat being without a seam, they cast lots for it. Whilst Christ remained in the agonies of death, the Jews mocked him and said, "If thou art the Son of God, come down from the cross." The chief priests and scribes also reviled him, and said, "He saved others, but cannot save himself." One of the criminals who was crucified with him, also cried out, and said, "If you are the Messiah, save yourself and us:" but the other malefactor, having great faith, exclaimed, "Lord, remember me when thou comest into thy kingdom." To which Christ replied, "This day shalt thou be with me in paradise."

When Christ was upon the cross the earth was covered with darkness, and the stars appeared a noon-day, which struck the people and even the Jews with terror. In the midst of his tortures Christ

cried out, "My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?" and then expressed a desire to drink; when one of the soldiers gave him, upon the point of a reed, a sponge dipped in vinegar, which, however, he refused. About three o'clock in the afternoon he gave up the ghost, and at that time a violent earthquake happened, when the rocks were rent, the mountains trembled, and the dead were thrown up from their graves. These signal prodigies attended the death of Christ, and such was the mortal end of the Redeemer of mankind.

THE LIVES, SUFFERINGS, AND MARTYRDOM OF THE
APOSTLES, EVANGELISTS, &c.

I. Stephen,

Who was the first in the "noble company of martyrs," was elected, with six others, as a deacon out of the Lord's seventy disciples. He was an able and successful preacher. The principal persons belonging to five Jewish synagogues entered into many altercations with him; but he, by the soundness of his doctrine, and the strength of his arguments, overcame them all, which so much irritated them, that they bribed false witnesses to accuse him of blaspheming God and Moses. On being carried before the council, he made a noble defence: but that so much exasperated his judges, that they resolved to condemn him. At this instant Stephen saw a vision from heaven, which represented Jesus, in his glorified state, sitting at the right hand of God. This vision so greatly rejoiced him, that he exclaimed, in raptures, "Behold I see the heavens open, and the Son of Man standing on the right hand of God." This caused him to be condemned, and, having dragged him out of the city, they stoned him to death. On the spot where he was martyred, Eudocia, the empress of the emperor Theodosius, erected a superb church.

The death of Stephen was succeeded by a severe persecution at Jerusalem, in which 2000 Christians, with Nicanor the deacon, were martyred, and many others obliged to leave that country.

II. James the Great

Was a Galilean, and the son of Zebedee, a fisherman, the elder brother of John, and a relation to Christ himself: for his mother Salome was cousin-german to the Virgin Mary. Being one day with his father fishing in the sea of Galilee, he and his brother John were called by our Saviour to become his disciples. They cheerfully obeyed the mandate, and leaving their father, followed Jesus. It is to be observed, that Christ placed a greater confidence in them than in any other of the apostles, Peter excepted.

Christ called these brothers Boanerges, or the Sons of Thunder, on account of their vigorous minds, and impetuous tempers.

When Herod Agrippa was made governor of Judea by the emperor Caligula, he raised a persecution against the Christians, and particularly singled out James as an object of his vengeance. This martyr, on being condemned to death, showed such an intrepidity of spirit, and constancy of mind, that even his accuser was struck with admiration, and became a convert to Christianity. This transition so enraged the people in power, that they condemned him likewise to death; when James the apostle and his penitent accuser were both beheaded on the same day, and with the same sword. These events took place in the year of Christ 44.

About the same period, Timon and Parmenas, two of the seven deacons, suffered martyrdom, the former at Corinth, and the latter at Philippi, in Macedonia.

III. Philip,

The apostle and martyr, was born at Bethsaida, in Galilee, and was the first called by the name of Disciple. He was employed in several important commissions by Christ, and being deputed to preach in Upper Asia, laboured very diligently in his apostleship. He then travelled into Phrygia, and arriving at Heliopolis, found the inhabitants so sunk in idolatry as to worship a large serpent. Philip, however, converted many of them to Christianity, and even procured the death of the serpent. This so enraged the magistrates, that they committed him to prison, had him severely scourged, and afterwards crucified. His friend Bartholomew found an opportunity of taking down the body, and burying it; for which, however, he was very near suffering the same fate. His martyrdom happened eight years after that of James the Great, A. D. 52.

IV. Matthew,

The evangelist, apostle, and martyr, was born at Nazareth, in Galilee, but resided chiefly at Capernaum, on account of his business, which was that of a toll-gatherer, to collect tribute of such as had occasion to pass the sea of Galilee. On being called as a disciple, he immediately complied, and left every thing to follow Christ. After the ascension of his master, he continued preaching the gospel in Judea about nine years. Intending to leave Judea, in order to go and preach among the Gentiles, he wrote his Gospel in Hebrew, for the use of his Jewish converts; but it was afterwards translated into Greek by James the less. He then went to Ethiopia, ordained preachers, settled churches, and made many converts. He afterwards proceeded to Parthia, where he had the same success; but returning to Ethiopia, he was slain by a halberd, in the city of Nadabar, about the year of Christ 60.

V. Mark,

The evangelist and martyr, was born of Jewish parents, of the tribe of Levi. It is imagined that he was converted to Christianity by Peter, whom he served as an amanuensis, and whom he attended in all his travels. Being entreated by the converts at Rome, to commit to writing the admirable discourses they had heard from Peter and himself, he complied with this request, and composed his gospel accordingly, in the Greek language. He then went to Egypt, and afterwards proceeded to Lybia, where he made many converts. On returning to Alexandria, some of the Egyptians, exasperated at his success, determined on his death. They therefore tied his feet, dragged him through the streets, left him bruised in a dungeon all night, and the next day burned his body.

VI. James the Less,

The apostle and martyr, was called so, to distinguish him from James the Great. He was the son, by a first wife, of Joseph, the reputed father of Christ; he was, after the Lord's ascension, elected to the oversight of the church of Jerusalem: he wrote his general epistles to all Christians and converts whatever to suppress a dangerous error then propagating, viz.: "That a faith in Christ was alone sufficient for salvation, without good works." The Jews, being at this time greatly enraged that Paul had escaped their fury, by appealing to Rome, determined to wreak their vengeance on James, who was now ninety-four years of age: they accordingly threw him down, beat, bruised, and stoned him; and then dashed out his brains with a club, such as was used by fullers in dressing cloth.

VII. Matthias,

The apostle and martyr, was called to the apostleship after the death of Christ, to supply the vacant

place of Judas, who had betrayed his master, and was likewise one of the seventy disciples. He was martyred at Jerusalem, being first stoned and then beheaded.

VIII. Andrew,

The apostle and martyr, was the brother of Peter, and preached the gospel to many Asiatic nations. On arriving at Edessa, the governor of the country, named Egeas, threatened him for preaching against the idols there worshipped. Andrew persisting in the propagation of his doctrines, he was ordered to be crucified on a cross, two ends of which were transversely fixed in the ground. He boldly told his accusers, that he would not have preached the glory of the cross, had he feared to die on it. And again, when they came to crucify him, he said, that he coveted the cross, and longed to embrace it. He was fastened to the cross, not with nails, but cords, that his death might be more slow. In this situation he continued two days, preaching the greatest part of the time to the people, when he expired.

IX. Peter,

The great apostle and martyr, was born at Bethsaida, in Galilee, being the son of Jonah, a fisherman, which employment Peter himself followed. He was persuaded by his brother to turn Christian, when Christ gave him the name of Cephas, implying, in the Syriac language, a rock. He was called, at the same time as his brother, to be an apostle; gave uncommon proofs of his zeal for the service of Christ, and always appeared as the principal speaker among the apostles. He had, however, the weakness to deny his master after his apprehension, though he defended him at the time. But after the death of Christ, the Jews still continued to persecute the Christians, and ordered several of the apostles, among whom was Peter, to be scourged. This pun-

ishment they bore with the greatest fortitude, and rejoiced that they were thought worthy to suffer for the sake of their Redeemer.

When Herod Agrippa caused James the Great to be put to death, and found that it pleased the Jews, he resolved, in order to ingratiate himself with the people, that Peter should fall the next sacrifice. He was accordingly apprehended, and thrown into prison ; but an angel of the Lord released him, which so enraged Herod, that he ordered the sentinels who guarded the dungeon in which he had been confined, to be put to death. Peter, after various other miracles, retired to Rome, where he defeated all the artificers, and confounded the magic of Simon, the magician, a great favourite of the emperor Nero ; he likewise converted to Christianity one of the concubines of that monarch, which so exasperated the tyrant, that he ordered both Peter and Paul to be apprehended. During the time of their confinement they converted two of the captains of the guards, and forty-seven other persons, to Christianity. Having been nine months in prison, Peter was brought out from thence for execution, when, after being severely scourged, he was crucified, with his head downwards ; which position, however, was at his own request.

X. Paul,

The apostle and martyr, was a Jew of the tribe of Benjamin, born at Tarsus in Cilicia, and before his conversion was called Saul. He was at first a great enemy to, and persecuter of the Christians ; and a principal promoter of the death of Stephen. While on his way to Damascus, the glory of the Lord came suddenly upon him, he was struck to the earth, and was afflicted with blindness during three days ; on his recovery from which, he immediately became a professor, an apostle, and ultimately a martyr for the religion which he had formerly persecuted. Amongst

his labours in spreading the doctrine of Christ, he converted to the faith Sergius Paulus, the proconsul of Cyprus, on which he took his name, and, as some suppose, was from thence called Paulus instead of Saulus. After his many labours he took to him Barnabas, and went up to Jerusalem, to Peter, James, and John, where he was ordained, and sent out with Barnabas to preach to the Gentiles. At Iconium, Paul and Barnabas were near being stoned to death by the enraged Jews; upon which they fled to Lycaonia. At Lystra, Paul was stoned, dragged out of the city, and left for dead. He, however, happily revived, and escaped to Derbe. At Phillippi, Paul and Silas were imprisoned and whipped; and both were again persecuted at Thessalonica. Being afterwards taken at Jerusalem, he was sent to Cæsarea, but appealed to Cæsar at Rome. Here he continued a prisoner at large for two years; and at length being released, he visited the churches of Greece and Rome, and preached in France and Spain. Returning to Rome, he was again apprehended, and, by the order of Nero, martyred, by being beheaded.

XI. Jude,

The apostle and martyr, the brother of James, was commonly called Thaddæus. Being sent to Edessa, he wrought many miracles, and made many converts, which stirring up the resentment of the people in power, he was crucified about the year 72.

XII. Bartholomew,

The apostle and martyr, preached in several countries, performed many miracles, and healed various diseases. He translated Matthew's gospel into the Indian language, and propagated it in that country; but at length the idolaters, growing impatient with his doctrines, severely beat, crucified, and slew him, and then cut off his head.

XIII. Thomas

Was called by this name in Syriac, but Didymus in Greek; he was an apostle and martyr, and preached in Parthia and India, where, displeasing the pagan priests, he was martyred by being thrust through with a spear.

XIV. Luke the Evangelist,

Was the author of a most excellent gospel. He travelled with Paul to Rome, and preached to divers barbarous nations, till the priests in Greece hanged him on an olive tree.

XV. Simon,

The apostle and martyr, was distinguished, from his zeal, by the name of Zelotes. He preached with great success in Mauritania, and other parts of Africa, and even in Britain, where, though he made many converts, he was crucified, A. D. 74.

XVI. John

Was distinguished for being a prophet, apostle, divine, evangelist, and martyr. He is called the beloved disciple, and was brother to James the Great. He was previously a disciple of John the Baptist, and afterwards not only one of the twelve apostles, but one of the three to whom Christ communicated the most secret passages of his life. He founded churches at Smyrna, Pergamus, Sardis, Philadelphia, Laodicea, and Thyatira, to whom he directs his book of Revelation. Being at Ephesus, he was ordered by the emperor Domitian to be sent bound to Rome, where he was condemned to be cast into a cauldron of boiling oil. But here a miracle appeared in his favour; the oil did him no injury, and Domitian, therefore, not being able to put him to death, banished him to Patmos, to work in the mines. He was, however, recalled by Nerva, who succeeded Domitian; but was deemed a martyr on account of his

having undergone an execution, though it did not take effect. He wrote his epistles, gospel, and revelations, all in a different style ; but they are all equally admired. He was the only apostle who escaped a violent death, and lived the longest of any of them, being nearly 100 years of age at the time of his death.

XVII. Barnabas

Was a native of Cyprus, but of Jewish parents : the time of his death is uncertain, but it is supposed to be about the year of Christ 73.

THE FIRST PRIMITIVE PERSECUTION UNDER NERO

The first persecution, in the primitive ages of the church, was begun by that cruel tyrant Nero Domitianus, the sixth emperor of Rome, A. D. 67. This monarch reigned, for the space of five years, with tolerable credit to himself, but then gave way to the greatest extravagance of temper, and to the most atrocious barbarities. Among other diabolical outrages, he ordered that the city of Rome should be set on fire, which was done by his officers, guards, and servants. While the city was in flames, he went up to the tower of Mæcenas, played upon his harp, sung the song of the burning of Troy, and declared, "That he wished the ruin of all things before his death." Among the noble buildings burnt was the circus, or place appropriated to horse-races. It was half a mile in length, of an oval form, with rows of seats rising above each other, and capable of receiving with ease, upwards of 100,000 spectators. Many other palaces and houses were consumed ; and several thousands of the people perished in the flames, were smothered, or buried beneath the ruins.

This dreadful conflagration continued nine days ; when Nero, finding that his conduct was greatly

blamed, and a severe odium cast upon him, determined to lay the whole upon the Christians, at once to excuse himself, and to have an opportunity of witnessing new cruelties. The barbarities exercised upon the Christians, during the first persecution, were such as excited the commiseration of the Romans themselves. Nero even refined upon cruelty, and contrived all manner of punishments for the Christians. In particular, he had some sewed up in the skins of wild beasts, and then worried by dogs till they expired ; and others dressed in shirts made stiff with wax, fixed to axle-trees, and set on fire in his gardens. This persecution was general throughout the whole Roman empire ; but it rather increased than diminished the spirit of Christianity. In the course of it, Paul and Peter were martyred ; and to their names may be added Erastus, chamberlain of Corinth ; Aristarchus the Macedonian ; Trophimus, an Ephesian, converted by Paul, and fellow-labourer with him ; Joseph, commonly called Barsabas ; and Ananias, a preacher in Damascus.

THE SECOND PRIMITIVE PERSECUTION, UNDER DOMITIAN.

Domitian came to the throne A. D. 81, having slain his brother Titus, the reigning emperor. In his temper he strongly resembled Nero ; yet he spared the Christians until the year 95, when he commenced the general persecution. His rage was such, that he even put to death many of the Roman senators ; some through malice, and others to confiscate their estates ; after which he commanded all the lineage of David to be extirpated. Two Christians were brought before him, accused of being of the tribe of Judah, and line of David ; but from their answers, he despised them as idiots, and dismissed them accordingly. He, however, was determined to be more secure upon other occasions ; for he took away

the property of many Christians, put several to death, and banished others.

Amongst the numerous martyrs that suffered during this persecution was Simeon, bishop of Jerusalem, who was crucified; and the apostle John, who was boiled in oil, and afterwards banished to Patmos. Flavia, the daughter of a Roman senator, was likewise banished to Pontus; and a law was enacted, "That no Christian, once brought before an appropriate tribunal, should be exempted from punishment, without renouncing his religion."

During this reign, there were a variety of tales composed in order to injure the Christians. Among other falsehoods, they were accused of indecent nightly meetings, of a rebellious, turbulent spirit; of being inimical to the Roman empire; of murdering their children, and even of being cannibals; and at this time, such was the infatuation of the Pagans, that if famine, pestilence, or earthquakes, afflicted any of the Roman provinces, these calamities were said to be manifestations of the divine wrath, occasioned by their impieties. These persecutions increased the number of informers; and many, for the sake of gain, swore away the lives of the innocent. When any Christians were brought before the magistrates, a test oath was proposed, when, if they refused it, death was pronounced against them; and if they confessed themselves Christians, the sentence was the same. The various kinds of punishments and inflicted cruelties were, imprisonment, racking, searing, broiling, burning, scourging, stoning, hanging, and worrying. Many were torn piecemeal with red hot pincers, and others were thrown upon the horns of wild bulls. After having suffered these cruelties, the friends of the deceased were refused the privilege of burning their remains.

The following were the most remarkable of the numerous martyrs who suffered during this persecution.

Dionysius, the Areopagite, an Athenian by birth, and educated in all the useful and ornamental literature of Greece. From Greece, he travelled into Egypt, where he devoted himself to the study of astronomy, and made very particular observations on the great and super-natural eclipse, which happened at the time of our Saviour's crucifixion. On his return to Athens, he became a convert to Christianity, and was appointed bishop of that city. This office he continued to discharge with great fidelity and acceptance till Domitian's persecuting spirit brought him to the block.

Timothy, the celebrated disciple of Paul, and bishop of Ephesus, also suffered during this persecution, about the year 97. During the celebration of a pagan festival, called Catagogion, this holy man, meeting a procession, composed of an idolatrous multitude, severely reproved them, for ridiculous and wicked conduct ; upon which, under a high wrought excitement, they fell upon him, with clubs, and beat him in so cruel a manner, that he expired of the bruises two days after.

Many other distinguished and pious men, under various tortures, were, during this persecution, brought to the grave, but brevity requires us to omit a particular mention of them.

THE THIRD PRIMITIVE PERSECUTION, UNDER THE
ROMAN EMPERORS.

Between the second and third Roman persecution was but one year. Upon Nerva succeeding Domitian, he gave a respite to the Christians ; but reigning only thirteen months, his successor Trajan, in the tenth year of his reign, and in A. D. 108, began the third persecution against them. While the persecution raged, Plinius Secundus, a heathen philosopher, wrote to the emperor in favour of Christians, stating that he found nothing objectionable in their conduct ; and that “ the whole sum of their error consisted in this, that they were wont at certain times appointed, to meet before day, and to sing certain hymns to one Christ their God ; and to confederate among themselves, to abstain from all theft, murder, and adultery ; to keep their faith, and to defraud no man : which done, then to depart for that time, and afterwards to resort again to take meat in companies together, both men and women, one with another, *and yet without any act of evil.*” To this epistle Trajan returned this indecisive answer ; “ That Christians ought not to be sought after, but when brought before the magistracy they should be punished.” This reply of the emperor, vague as it was, occasioned the persecution in some measure to abate, as his officers were uncertain, if they carried it on with severity, how he might choose to interpret his letter. Trajan, however, soon after wrote to Jerusalem and gave orders to exterminate the stock of David ; in consequence of which, all that could be found of that race were put to death.

PROCAS, bishop of Pontus, refusing to sacrifice to Neptune, was, by the immediate order of Trajan, cast first into a hot lime-kiln, and being drawn from thence, was thrown into a scalding bath till he expired.

Trajan likewise commanded the martyrdom of Ig-

natus, bishop of Antioch. This holy man, it is said, was the person whom, when an infant, Christ took into his arms and showed to his disciples, as one that would be a pattern of humility and innocence. He received the gospel afterwards from John the Evangelist, and was exceedingly zealous of his mission. He boldly vindicated the faith of Christ before the emperor, for which he cast him into prison, and was tormented in a cruel manner; for, after being dreadfully scourged, he was compelled to hold fire in his hands, and at the same time, papers dipped in oil were put to his sides, and set alight. His flesh was then torn with red-hot pincers, and at last he was despatched by being torn to pieces by wild beasts.

SYMPHOROSA, a widow, and her seven sons, were commanded by Trajan to sacrifice to the heathen deities. Refusing to comply with the impious request, the emperor, greatly exasperated, ordered her to be carried to the temple of Hercules, where she was scourged, and hung up for some time by the hair of the head; then a large stone was fastened to her neck, and she was thrown into the river. Her sons were fastened to seven posts, and being drawn up by the pulleys, their limbs were dislocated; these tortures not affecting their resolution, they were thus martyred. Crescentius, the eldest, was stabbed in the throat; Julian, the second, in the breast; Nemesius, the third, in the heart; Primitius, the fourth, in the navel; Justice, the fifth, in the back; Stacteus, the sixth, in the side; and Eugenius, the youngest, was sawed asunder.

Trajan died in the year 117, and was succeeded by Adrian, during whose reign of 21 years, the condition of the church was, upon the whole, less distressing than during the reign of his predecessor. Yet, in the *first* years of Adrian, the persecution went on, and many illustrious men, and more still humbler disciples of Christ, fell victims to his cruel laws

which had been passed by Trajan, and which continued unrepealed for several years.

At length Quadratus, bishop of Athens, made a learned apology in favour of the Christians before the emperor Adrian, who happened to be there; and Aristides, a philosopher of the same city, wrote an elegant epistle, which caused Adrian to relax in his severities, and relent in their favour. He indeed went so far as to command, that no Christian should be punished on the score of religion or opinion only; but this gave other pretexts to the Jews and Pagans to persecute them; for then they began to employ and suborn false witnesses, to accuse them of crimes against the state or civil authority.

Adrian died in the year 138, and was succeeded by Antoninus Pius, so amiable a monarch, that his people gave him the title of "The Father of Virtues." Immediately upon his accession to the throne, he published an edict concluding with these words: "If any hereafter shall vex or trouble the Christians, having no other cause but that they are such, let the accused be released, and the accusers be punished." This stopped the persecution, and the Christians enjoyed a respite from their sufferings during this emperor's reign, though their enemies took every occasion to do them what injuries they could. The piety and goodness of Antoninus were so great, that he used to say, that he had rather save one citizen, than to destroy a thousand of his adversaries.

THE FOURTH PRIMITIVE PERSECUTION UNDER THE ROMAN EMPERORS, WHICH COMMENCED A. D. 162.

ANTONINUS PIUS was succeeded by Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Verus, who began the fourth persecution, in which many Christians were martyred,

particularly in several parts of Asia, and in France. Such were the cruelties used in this persecution, that many of the spectators shuddered with horror at the sight, and were astonished at the intrepidity of the sufferers. Some of the martyrs were obliged to pass with their already wounded feet, over thorns, nails, sharp shells, &c., others were scourged till their sinews and veins lay bare ; and after suffering the most excruciating tortures, they were destroyed by the most terrible deaths.

GERMANICUS, a young and true Christian, being delivered to the wild beasts on account of his faith, behaved with such astonishing courage, that several pagans became converts, to a faith which inspired such fortitude. This enraged others so much, that they cried out he merited death ; and many of the multitude wondering at this beloved martyr for his constancy and virtue, began suddenly to cry out with a loud voice, saying, " Destroy the wicked men, let Polycarpus be sought for." And whilst a great uproar and tumult began to be raised upon those cries, a certain Phrygian, named Quintus, lately arrived from his country, was so afflicted at the sight of the wild beasts, that he rushed to the judgment-seat and upbraided the judges, for which he was put to death.

POLYCARPUS, bishop of Smyrna, the disciple and pupil of the apostle John, now in the 87th year of his age, 27th of his ministry, hearing that he was sought after, escaped, but was discovered by a child. From this circumstance, and having dreamed that his bed suddenly became on fire, and was consumed in a moment, he concluded that it was God's will that he should suffer martyrdom. He therefore did not attempt to make a second escape when he had an opportunity of so doing. Those who apprehended him were amazed at his serene countenance and gravity. After feasting them, he desired an hour for



Polycarpus.—Page 60.



St. Lawrence.—Page 81.



prayer, which being allowed, he prayed with such fervency, that his guards repented they had been instrumental in taking him. He was, however, carried before the proconsul, condemned, and conducted to the market-place. Wood being provided, the holy man earnestly prayed to heaven, after being bound to the stake; and as the flames grew vehement, the executioners gave way on both sides, the heat now becoming intolerable. In the mean time, the bishop sung praises to God in the midst of the flames, but remained unconsumed therein, and the burning of the wood spreading a fragrance around, the guards were much surprised. Determined, however, to put an end to his life, they stuck spears into his body, when the quantity of blood that issued from the wounds extinguished the flames. After considerable attempts, however, they put him to death, and burnt his body when dead, not being able to consume it while alive. This extraordinary event had such an effect upon the people that they began to adore the martyr; and the proconsul was admonished not to deliver his body, lest the people should leave Christ, and begin to worship him. Twelve other Christians, who had been intimate with Polycarpus, were soon after martyred.

FELICITAS, an illustrious Roman lady of a considerable family, and great virtues, was a devout Christian. She had seven sons, whom she had educated with the most exemplary piety. The empire having been about this time grievously troubled with earthquakes, famine, inundation, &c., the Christians were accused as the cause, and Felicitas was included in the accusation. The lady and her family being seized, the emperor gave orders to Publius, the Roman governor, to proceed against her. Upon this Publius began with the mother, thinking that if he could prevail with her to change her religion, the example would have great influence with her sons. Finding her inflexible, he turned his entreaties to

menaces, and threatened her with destruction to herself and family. She despised his threats as she had done his promises; he then caused her sons to be brought before him, whom he examined separately. They all, however, remained steadfast in their faith, and unanimous in their opinions, on which the whole family were ordered for execution. Januarius, the eldest, was scourged and pressed to death with weights; Felix and Philip, the two next, had their brains dashed out with clubs; Sylvanus, the fourth, was murdered by being thrown from a precipice; and the three younger sons, viz. Alexander, Vitalis, and Martialis, were all beheaded. The mother was beheaded with the same sword as the three latter.

JUSTIN, the celebrated philosopher, fell a martyr in this persecution. He was a native of Neapolis, in Samaria, and was born A. D. 103. He had the best education those times could afford, and travelled into Egypt, the country where the polite tour of that age was made for improvement. At Alexandria he was informed of every thing relative to the seventy interpreters of the writings, and shewn the rooms, or rather cells, in which their work was performed. Justin was a great lover of truth, and an universal scholar; he investigated the Stoic and Peripatetic philosophy, and attempted the Pythagorean system; but the behaviour of one of its professors disgusting him, he applied himself to the Platonic, in which he took great delight. About the year 133, when he was thirty years of age, he became a convert to Christianity. Justin wrote an elegant epistle to the Gentiles, to convert them to the faith he had newly acquired, and lived in so pure and innocent a manner that he well deserved the title of a Christian philosopher. He likewise employed his talents in convincing the Jews of the truth of the Christian rites, and spent much time in travelling, till he took up his abode in Rome, and fixed his habitation on the Viminal mount. He kept a public school, taught

many who afterwards became great men, and wrote a treatise to confute heresies of all kinds. As the Pagans began to treat the Christians with great severity, Justin wrote his first apology in their favour, and addressed it to the emperor Antoninus, or two princes whom he had adopted as his sons, and to the senate and people of Rome in general. This piece, which occasioned the emperor to publish an edict in favour of the Christians, displays great learning and genius.

A short time after, he entered into frequent contests with Crescens, a person of a vicious life, but a celebrated cynic philosopher; and his arguments appeared so powerful, yet disgusting to the cynic, that he resolved on his destruction, which, in the sequel, he accomplished. The second apology of Justin was occasioned by the following circumstances: a man and his wife, who were both bad livers, resided at Rome. The woman, however, becoming a convert to Christianity, attempted to reclaim her husband; but not succeeding, she sued for a divorce, which so exasperated him, that he accused her of being a Christian. Upon her petition, however, he dropped the prosecution, and levelled his malice at Ptolemeus, who had converted her. Ptolemeus was condemned to die; and one Lucius, with another person, for expressing themselves too freely upon the occasion, met with the same fate. Justin's apology upon these severities gave Crescens an opportunity of prejudicing the emperor against the writer of it; upon which Justin and six of his companions were apprehended. Being commanded, as usual, to deny their faith, and sacrifice to the pagan idols, they refused to do either; they were, therefore, condemned to be first scourged, and then beheaded.

Some of the restless northern nations having risen in arms against Rome, the emperor marched to encounter them. He was, however, drawn into an ambuscade, and dreaded the loss of his whole army.

Enveloped with mountains, surrounded by enemies, and perishing with thirst, the pagan deities were invoked in vain ; when the men belonging to the militia, or thundering legion, who were all Christians, were commanded to call upon their God for succour. A miraculous deliverance immediately ensued ; a prodigious quantity of rain fell, which, being caught by the men, and filling the dykes, afforded a sudden and astonishing relief. It appears, that the storm which miraculously flashed in the faces of the enemy, so intimidated them, that part deserted to the Roman army ; the rest were defeated, and the revolted provinces entirely recovered. This affair occasioned the persecution to subside for some time, at least in those parts immediately under the inspection of the emperor ; but we find that it soon after raged in France, particularly at Lyons, where the tortures to which many of the Christians were put, almost exceed the powers of description.

The principal of these martyrs were Vetius Agathus, a young man ; Blandinia, a Christian lady, of a weak constitution ; Sanctus, a deacon of Vienna ; red-hot plates of brass were placed upon the tenderest parts of his body ; Biblias, a weak woman, once an apostate. Attalus, of Pergamus ; and Pothinus, the venerable bishop of Lyons, who was ninety years of age.

When the Christians, upon these occasions, received martyrdom, they were ornamented, and crowned with garlands of flowers ; for which they in heaven received eternal crowns of glory.

The torments were various ; and, exclusive of those already mentioned, the martyrs of Lyons were compelled to sit in red-hot iron chairs till their flesh broiled. This was inflicted with peculiar severity on Sanctus, already mentioned, and some others. Some were sewed up in nets, and thrown on the horns of wild bulls ; and the carcasses of those who died in prison, previous to the appointed time of ex-

ecution, were thrown to dogs. Indeed, so far did the malice of the pagans proceed, that they set guards over the bodies while the beasts were devouring them, lest the friends of the deceased should get them away by stealth ; and the offals left by the dogs were ordered to be burnt.

The martyrs of Lyons, according to the best accounts we could obtain, who suffered for the gospel, were forty-eight in number, and their executions happened in the year of Christ 177.

Epipodius and Alexander were celebrated for their great friendship, and their Christian union with each other. The first was born at Lyons, the latter at Greece. Epipodius, being compassionated by the governor of Lyons, and exhorted to join in their festive pagan worship, replied, " Your pretended tenderness is actually cruelty ; and the agreeable life you describe is replete with everlasting death. Christ suffered for us, that our pleasures should be immortal, and hath prepared for his followers an eternity of bliss. The frame of man being composed of two parts, body and soul, the first, as mean and perishable, should be rendered subservient to the interests of the last. Your idolatrous feasts may gratify the mortal, but they injure the immortal part ; that cannot therefore be enjoying life which destroys the most valuable moiety of your frame. Your pleasures lead to eternal death, and our pains lead to perpetual happiness." Epipodius was severely beaten, and then put to the rack, upon which being stretched, his flesh was torn with iron hooks. Having borne his torments with incredible patience and unshaken fortitude, he was taken from the rack and beheaded.

Valerian and Marcellus, who were nearly related to each other, were imprisoned at Lyons, in the year 177, for being Christians. The father was fixed up to the waist in the ground ; in which position, after remaining three days, he expired, A. D. 179. Valerian was beheaded.

Apollonius, a Roman senator, an accomplished gentleman, and a sincere Christian, suffered under Commodus, because he would not worship him as Hercules.

Eusebius, Vincentius, Potentianus, Peregrinus and Julius, a Roman senator, were martyred on the same account.

THE FIFTH GENERAL PERSECUTION UNDER THE ROMAN EMPERORS.

The emperor Commodus, who had succeeded his father Antoninus in 180, dying in the year 191, was succeeded by Pertinax, and he by Julianus, both of whom reigned but a short time. On the death of the last, Severus became emperor in the year 192. When he had been recovered from a severe fit of sickness by a Christian, he became a great favourer of Christians in general; and even permitted his son Caracalla to be nursed by a female of that persuasion. Hence, during the reigns of the emperors already mentioned, who successively succeeded Commodus, and some years of the latter's reign, the Christians had a respite for several years from persecution. But the prejudice and fury of the ignorant multitude again prevailed, and the obsolete laws were put in execution against the Christians. The pagans were alarmed at the progress of Christianity, and revived the calumny of placing accidental misfortunes to the account of its professors. Fire, sword, wild beasts, and imprisonments, were resorted to; and even the dead bodies of Christians were torn from their graves, and subject to every insult; yet the gospel withstood the attacks of its boisterous enemies. Tertullian, who lived in this age, informs us, that if the Christians had collectively withdrawn themselves from the Roman territories, the empire would have been greatly depopulated.

Victor, bishop of Rome, suffered martyrdom in the first year of the third century, viz. A. D. 201, though the circumstances are not ascertained.

Leonidas, the father of the celebrated Origen, was beheaded for being a Christian. Previous to the execution, the son, in order to encourage him, wrote to him in these remarkable words: "Beware, Sir, that your care for us does not make you change your resolution." Many of Origen's hearers likewise suffered martyrdom.

Among those who suffered during this persecution was also the venerable Irenæus, bishop of Lyons, who was born in Greece, and received a Christian education. It is generally supposed that the account of the persecutions at Lyons was written by himself. He succeeded the martyr Pothynus as bishop of Lyons, and ruled his diocese with great propriety: he was a zealous opposer of heresies in general, and wrote a celebrated tract against heresy about A. D. 187.

Victor, the bishop of Rome, wanting to impose a particular mode of keeping Easter there, it occasioned some disorders among the Christians. In particular, Irenæus wrote him a synodical epistle in the name of the Gallic churches. This zeal in favour of Christianity, pointed him out as an object of resentment to the emperor; and he was accordingly beheaded in A. D. 202.

Persecutions in Africa.

The persecutions about this time extended to Africa, and many were martyred in that part of the globe; but we must content ourselves with giving a particular account only of Perpetua, a married lady of about twenty-six years of age, with a young child at her breast; she was seized for being a Christian. Her father, who tenderly loved her, went to console her during her confinement, and attempted to persuade her to renounce Christianity. Perpetua, how-

ever, resisted every entreaty. This resolution so much incensed her father, that he beat her severely, and did not visit her for some days after ; and, in the mean time, she and some others who were confined, were baptized, as they were before only catechumens.

On being carried before the proconsul Minutius, she was commanded to sacrifice to the idols ; but refusing, she was ordered to a dark dungeon, and was deprived of her child. Two deacons, however, Tertius and Pomponious, who had the care of persecuted Christians, allowed her some hours daily to inhale the fresh air, during which time she had the satisfaction of being allowed to nurse her child. Foreseeing, however, that she should not long be permitted to take care of it, she recommended it strongly to her mother's attention. Her father at length paid her a second visit, and again entreated her to renounce Christianity. His behaviour was now all tenderness and humanity ; but inflexible to all things but Christ, she knew she must leave every thing for his sake ; and she only said to him, " God's will must be done." He then, with an almost bursting heart, left her.

Perpetua gave the strongest proof of fortitude and strength of mind on her trial. Her judge entreated her to consider her father's tears, her infant's helplessness, and her own life ; but, triumphing over the softer sentiments of nature, she forgot the ideas of both mental and corporeal pain, and determined to sacrifice all the feelings of human sensibility, to that immortality offered by Christ. In vain did they attempt to persuade her that their offers were gentle, and her own religion otherwise. Aware that she must die, her father's parental tenderness returned, and in his anxiety he attempted to carry her off, on which he received a severe blow from one of the officers. Irritated at this, the daughter immediately declared, that she felt that blow more severely than

if she had received it herself. Being conducted back to prison, she awaited her execution with several other persons, who were to be executed at the same time; one of these, Felicitas, a married Christian lady, was big with child at the time of her trial. The procurator, when he examined her, entreated her to have pity upon herself and her condition; but she replied, that his compassion was useless, for no thought of self-preservation could induce her to submit to any idolatrous proposition. She was delivered in prison of a girl, which was adopted by a Christian woman as her own.

Revocatus was a catechumen of Carthage, and a slave. The names of the other prisoners, who were to suffer upon this occasion, were Satur, Saturnius, and Secundulus. When the day of execution arrived, they were led to the amphitheatre. Satur, Saturnius, and Revocatus, having the fortitude to denounce God's judgments upon their persecutors, were ordered to run the gauntelope between the hunters, or such as had the care of the wild beasts. The hunters being drawn up in two ranks, they ran between, and as they passed were severely lashed. Felicitas and Perpetua were stripped, in order to be thrown to a mad bull; but some of the spectators, through decency, desired that they might be permitted to put on their clothes, which request was granted. The bull made his first attack upon Perpetua, and stunned her: he then attacked Felicitas, and wounded her much; but not killing them, the executioner did that office with a sword. Revocatus and Satur were destroyed by wild beasts; Saturnius was beheaded; and Secundulus died in prison. These executions took place on the 8th of March, A. D. 205.

THE SIXTH GENERAL PERSECUTION UNDER THE
ROMAN EMPERORS.

The sixth general persecution occurred under Maximinus, the son of a herdsman of Thrace, who by means of the army was made emperor A. D. 235. In Cappadocia, the president Semiramus made great efforts to exterminate the Christians from that kingdom. A Roman soldier who refused to wear a laurel crown bestowed on him by the emperor, and confessed himself a Christian, was scourged, imprisoned, and put to death. Pontianus, bishop of Rome, for preaching against idolatry, was banished to Sardinia, and there destroyed. Anteros, a Grecian, who succeeded this bishop in the see of Rome, gave so much offence to the government by collecting the acts of the martyrs, that, after having held his dignity only forty days, he suffered martyrdom himself. Pammachius, a Roman senator, with his family and other Christians to the number of forty-two, were, on account of their religion, all beheaded in one day, and their heads set up on the city gates. Simplicius, another senator, suffered martyrdom in a similar way. Calpodius, a Christian minister, after being inhumanly treated, and barbarously dragged about the streets, was thrown into the river Tiber with a mill-stone fastened about his neck. Quiritus, a Roman nobleman, with his family and domestics, were, on account of their Christian principles, put to most excruciating tortures and painful deaths. Martina, a noble and beautiful virgin, suffered martyrdom, being variously tortured, and afterwards beheaded; and Hippolitus, a Christian prelate, was tied to a wild horse, and dragged through fields, stony places, bushes, &c. till he died.

While this persecution continued, numerous Christians were slain without trial, and buried indiscriminately in heaps: sometimes fifty or sixty being cast into a pit together. Maximus died in A. D. 238; he

was succeeded by Gordian, during whose reign, and that of his successor Philip, the church was free from persecution for the space of more than ten years ; but in the year 249, a violent persecution broke out in Alexandria. It is, however, worthy of remark, that this was done at the instigation of a pagan priest, without the emperor's privity. At this time the fury of the people being great among the Christians, the mob broke open their houses, carried away the best of their property, destroyed the rest, and murdered the owners ; the universal cry being, " Burn them, burn them ! kill them, kill them !" The names of the martyrs have not been recorded, with the exception of the three following : Metrus, an aged and venerable Christian, who, refusing to blaspheme his Saviour, was beaten with clubs, pricked with sharp reeds, and at length stoned to death. Quinta, a Christian woman, being carried to the temple, and refusing to worship the idols there, was dragged by her feet over sharp flint stones, scourged with whips, and at last despatched in the same manner as Metrus. And Apollonia, an ancient maiden lady, confessing herself a Christian, the mob dashed out her teeth with their fists, and threatened to burn her alive. A fire was accordingly prepared for the purpose, and she fastened to a stake ; but requesting to be unloosed, it was granted, on a supposition that she meant to recant, when, to their astonishment, she immediately threw herself into the flames, and was consumed.

THE SEVENTH GENERAL PERSECUTION UNDER THE ROMAN EMPERORS.

In the year 249, Decius being emperor of Rome, a dreadful persecution was begun against the Christians. This was occasioned partly by the hatred he bore to his predecessor Philip, who was deemed a Christian, and partly by his jealousy concerning the

amazing increase of Christianity; for the heathen temples were almost forsaken, and the Christian churches crowded with proselytes. Decius, provoked at this, attempted, as it were, to extirpate the name of Christian; and, unfortunately for the cause of the gospel, many errors had about this time crept into the church; the Christians were at variance with each other; and a variety of contentions ensued amongst them. The heathens, in general, were ambitious to enforce the imperial decrees upon this occasion, and looked upon the murder of a Christian as a merit to themselves. The martyrs were therefore innumerable.

Martyrdom of Fabian and others.

Fabian, bishop of Rome, was the first person of eminence who felt the severity of this persecution. The deceased emperor, Philip, had, on account of his integrity, committed his treasure to the care of this good man; but Decius, not finding as much as his avarice made him expect, determined to wreak his vengeance on the good prelate. He was accordingly seized; and on the 20th January, A. D. 250, suffered martyrdom, by decapitation.

Julian, a native of Cilicia, as we are informed by St. Chrysostom, was seized upon for being a Christian. He was frequently tortured, but still remained inflexible; and though often brought from prison for execution, was again remanded, to suffer greater cruelties. He, at length, was obliged to travel for twelve months together, from town to town, in order to be exposed to the insults of the populace. When all endeavours to make him recant his religion were found ineffectual, he was brought before his judge, stripped, and whipped in a dreadful manner. He was then put into a leather bag, together with a number of serpents, scorpions, &c., and in that condition thrown into the sea.

Peter, a young man, amiable for the superior qualities of his body and mind, was apprehended as a Christian, at Lampsacus, and carried before Optimus, proconsul of Asia. On being commanded to sacrifice to Venus, he said, "I am astonished that you should wish me to sacrifice to an infamous woman, whose debauches even your own historians record, and whose life consisted of such actions as your laws would punish.—No! I shall offer to the true God the sacrifice of prayer and praise."

Optimus, on hearing this, ordered him to be stretched upon a wheel, by which all his bones were broken in a shocking manner; but his torments only inspired him with fresh courage; he smiled on his persecutors, and seemed, by the serenity of his countenance, not to upbraid, but to applaud his tormentors. At length the proconsul commanded him to be beheaded; which was immediately executed.

Denisa, a young woman, only sixteen years of age, who beheld this terrible judgment, suddenly exclaimed, "O, unhappy wretch, why would you buy a moment's ease, at the expense of a miserable eternity?" Optimus, hearing this, called to her, and asked if she was a Christian? She replied in the affirmative; and refused to sacrifice to the idols. Optimus, enraged at her resolution, gave her over to two libertines, who took her to their home, and made many attempts upon her chastity, but without effect. At midnight, however, they were deterred from their design by a frightful vision, which so amazed them, that they fell at the feet of Denisa, and implored her prayers that they might not feel the effects of divine vengeance for their brutality. But this event did not diminish the cruelty of Optimus; for the lady was beheaded soon after by his order.

Trypho and Respicus, two eminent men, were seized as Christians, and imprisoned at Nice. They were soon after put to the rack, which they bore with admirable patience for three hours, and uttered

the praises of the Almighty the whole time. 'They were then exposed naked in the open air, which benumbed all their limbs. When remanded to prison, they remained there for a considerable time; and then the cruelties of their persecutors were again evinced. Their feet were pierced with nails; they were dragged through the streets, scourged, torn with iron hooks, scorched with lighted torches, and at length beheaded, on the 1st of February, A. D. 251.

Agtha, a Cicilian lady, was remarkable for her beauty and endowments; her beauty was indeed so great, that Quintain, governor of Sicily, became enamoured of her, and made many attempts upon her virtue. The governor being known as a great libertine, and a bigoted pagan, the lady thought proper to withdraw from the town, but was discovered in her retreat, apprehended, and brought to Catana; when, finding herself in the power of an enemy, both to her soul and body, she recommended herself to the protection of the Almighty, and prayed for death. In order to gratify his passion with the greater conveniency, the governor transferred the virtuous lady to Aphrodica, an infamous and licentious woman, who tried every artifice to win her to the desired prostitution; but all her efforts were in vain. When Aphrodica acquainted Quintain with the inefficacy of her endeavours, he changed his desire into resentment; and, on her confessing that she was a Christian, he determined to gratify his revenge. He, therefore, ordered her to be scourged, burnt with red-hot irons, and torn with sharp hooks. Having borne these torments with admirable fortitude, she was next laid naked upon live coals, intermingled with glass, and being carried back to prison, she there expired on the 5th of February, A. D. 251.

Martyrdom of Cyril.

Cyril, bishop of Gortyna, was seized by order of Lucius, the governor of that place, who first exhort-

ed him to obey the imperial mandate, perform the sacrifices, and save his venerable person from destruction ; for he was then eighty-four years of age. The good prelate replied, that he could not agree to any such requisitions ; but as he had long taught others to save their souls, that now he should only think of his own salvation. When the governor found all his persuasion in vain, he pronounced sentence against the venerable Christian, in these words ; “ I order that Cyril, who has lost his senses, and is a declared enemy of our gods, shall be burnt alive.” The good worthy prelate heard this sentence without emotion, walked cheerfully to the place of execution, and underwent martyrdom with great resolution.

Persecutions in Crete.

At the Island of Crete, the persecution raged with fury ; for the governor being exceedingly active in executing the imperial decrees, that place streamed with the blood of many Christians. The principal Cretan martyrs, whose names have been transmitted to us, are as follow ; Theodulus, Saturnius, and Europus, were inhabitants of Gortina, who had been grounded in their faith by Cyril, bishop of that city ; and Eunicianus, Zeticus, Cleomenes, Agathopas, Bastides, and Euaristus, were brought from different parts of the island on accusations of professing Christianity.

At the time of their trial, they were commanded to sacrifice to Jupiter, which declining, the judge threatened them with the severest tortures. To these menaces they unanimously answered, “ That to suffer for the sake of the Supreme Being would, to them, be the sublimest of pleasures.” The judge then attempted to gain their veneration for the heathen deities, by descanting on their merits, and recounting some of their mythological histories. This gave the prisoners an opportunity of remarking on

the absurdity of such fictions, and pointing out the folly of paying adoration to ideal deities, and real images. Provoked to hear his favourite idols ridiculed, the governor ordered them all to be put to the rack; the tortures of which they sustained with surprising fortitude. They at length suffered martyrdom, A. D. 251; being all beheaded at the same time.

Martyrdom of Babylas, Bishop of Antioch, and others.

Babylas, a Christian of liberal education, became bishop of Antioch in A. D. 237, on the demise of Zebinus. He governed the church during those tempestuous times with admirable zeal and prudence. The first misfortune that happened to Antioch during his mission, was the siege of it by Sapor, king of Persia; who, having overrun all Syria, took and plundered this city among others, and used the Christian inhabitants with greater severity than the rest. His cruelties, however, were not lasting, for Gordian, the emperor, appearing at the head of a powerful army, Antioch was retaken, the Persians driven entirely out of Syria, pursued into their own country, and several places in the Persian territories fell into the hands of the emperor. On Gordian's death, in the reign of Decius, that emperor came to Antioch, where, having a desire to visit an assembly of Christians, Babylas opposed him, and refused to let him come in. The emperor dissembled his anger at that time; but soon sending for the bishop, he sharply reproved him for his insolence, and then ordered him to sacrifice to the pagan deities as an expiation for his supposed crime. Having refused this, he was committed to prison, loaded with chains, treated with great severities, and then beheaded, together with three young men who had been his pupils. On going to the place of execution, the bishop exclaimed, "Behold me and the children that the Lord hath given me." They were martyred A. D. 251; and the chains worn by the bishop in prison were buried with him.

The emperor Decius having erected a pagan temple at Ephesus, in the year 251, he commanded all who were in that city to sacrifice to the idols. This order was nobly refused by seven of his own soldiers, viz. : Maximianus, Martianus, Joannes, Malches, Dionysius, Constantinus, and Seraion. The emperor, wishing to prevail on the soldiers to prevent their fate by his entreaties and lenity, gave them a respite till he returned from a journey. But in the absence of the emperor, they escaped, and hid themselves in a cavern ; which he being informed of at his return, the mouth of the cavern was closed up and they were all starved to death.

Theodora, a beautiful young lady of Antioch, on refusing to sacrifice to the Roman idols, was condemned to the brothel, that her virtue might be sacrificed. Didymus, a Christian, then disguised himself in the habit of a Roman soldier, went to the house, informed Theodora who he was, and prevailed on her to make her escape in his dress. Thus being found in the brothel, instead of the lady, he was taken before the president, to whom confessing the truth, sentence of death was immediately pronounced against him. In the mean time Theodora, hearing that her deliverer was likely to suffer, came to the judge, threw herself at his feet, and begged that the sentence might fall only on her as the guilty person ; but the inflexible judge condemned both ; and they were executed accordingly, being first beheaded and their bodies afterwards burnt.

Account of Origen.

Origen, the celebrated presbyter and catechist of Alexandria, at the age of sixty-four, was seized, thrown into a loathsome prison, loaded with chains, his feet placed in the stocks, and his legs extended to the utmost for several days. He was threatened with fire, and tormented by every means that the most infernal imagination could suggest. But his Christian fortitude bore him through all ; indeed such was the rigour of his judge, that his tortures were ordered to be lingering, that death might not too soon put a period to his miseries. During this cruel temporizing the emperor Decius died, and Gallus, who succeeded him, engaging in a war with the Goths, the Christians met with a respite. In this interim Origen obtained his enlargement, and retiring to Tyre, remained there till his death, which happened when he was in the sixty-ninth year of his age.

THE EIGHTH GENERAL PERSECUTION UNDER THE
ROMAN EMPERORS.

After the death of Gallus, Æmilian, the general, having many enemies in the army, was slain, and Valerian was elected to the empire. This emperor, for the space of four years, governed with moderation, and treated the Christians with peculiar lenity and respect ; but in the year 257, an Egyptian magician, named Macrianus, gained a great ascendancy over him, and persuaded him to persecute them. Edicts were accordingly published, and the persecution, which began in the month of April, continued for three years and six months.

The martyrs that fell in this persecution were innumerable, and their tortures and deaths as various. The most eminent were the following :

Rufina and Secunda were two beautiful and accomplished ladies, daughters of Asterius, a gentleman of eminence in Rome. Rufina, the elder, was de-

signed in marriage for Armentarius, a young nobleman : and Secunda, the younger, for Verinus, a person of rank, and immense wealth. These suiters, at the time the persecution commenced, were both Christians ; but when danger appeared, to save their fortunes, they renounced their faith. They took great pains to persuade the ladies to do the same, but failed in their purpose ; and as a method of safety, Rufina and Secunda left the kingdom. The lovers, finding themselves disappointed, informed against the ladies, who being apprehended as Christians, were brought before Junius Donatus, governor of Rome. After many remonstrances, and having undergone several tortures, they sealed their martyrdom with their blood, by being beheaded in the year 257.

In the same year, Stephen, bishop of Rome, was beheaded, and about that time Saturnius, bishop of Thoulouse, was attacked and seized by the rabble of that place, for preventing, as they alleged, their oracles from speaking. On refusing to sacrifice to the idols, he was treated with many barbarous indignities, and then fastened by the feet to the tail of a bull. On a certain signal the enraged animal was driven down the steps of the temple, by which the martyr's brains were dashed out ; and the small number of Christians in Thoulouse, had not for some time courage sufficient to carry off the dead body : at length two women conveyed it away, and deposited it in a ditch. This martyr was an orthodox and learned primitive Christian, and his doctrines are held in high estimation.

Stephen was succeeded by Sextus as bishop of Rome. He is supposed to have been a Greek by birth, or extraction, and had for some time served in the capacity of a deacon, under Stephen. His great fidelity, singular wisdom, and courage, distinguished him upon many occasions ; and the fortunate conclusion of a controversy with some heretics, is generally ascribed to his prudence. Macrianus, who

had the management of the Roman government in the year 258, having procured an order from the emperor Valerian, to put to death all the Christian clergy in Rome, and the Senate having testified their obedience to this mandate, Sextus was one of the first that felt its severity. Cyprian tells us that he was beheaded August 6, A. D. 258 ; and that six of his deacons suffered with him.

Martyrdom of St. Laurence.

Laurentius, generally called St. Laurence, the principal of the deacons, who taught and preached under Sextus, followed him to the place of execution ; when Sextus predicted that he should meet him in heaven three days after. Laurentius considering this as a certain indication of his own approaching martyrdom, at his return collected all the Christian poor, and distributed among them the treasures of the church, which had been committed to his care, thinking that the money could not be better disposed of, or less liable to fall into the hands of the heathens. His conduct alarmed the persecutors, who seized on him, and commanded him to give an immediate account to the emperor of the church treasures.

Laurentius promised to satisfy them, but begged a short respite to put things in proper order ; when three days being granted him, he was suffered to depart ; whereupon with great diligence, he collected together a great number of aged, helpless, and impotent poor, and repairing to the magistrate, presented them to him, saying, " These are the true treasures of the church."

Provoked at the disappointment, and fancying the matter meant in ridicule, the governor ordered him to be immediately scourged. He was then beaten with iron rods, set upon a wooden horse, and had his limbs dislocated. He endured these tortures

with such fortitude and perseverance, that he was ordered to be fastened to a large gridiron, with a slow fire under it, that his death might be the more tedious. But his astonishing constancy during these trials, and his serenity of countenance while under such excruciating torments, gave the spectators so exalted an idea of the dignity and truth of the Christian religion, that many immediately became converts.

Having lain for some time upon the gridiron, the martyr called out to the emperor, who was present, in a kind of jocose Latin distich, made extempore, which may be translated thus :

“ This side enough is toasted,
Then turn me, tyrant, and eat ;
And see, whether raw or roasted,
I am the better meat.”

On this the executioner turned him, and after having lain a considerable time longer, he had still strength and spirit enough to triumph over the tyrant, by telling him, with great serenity, that he was roasted enough, and only wanted serving up. He then cheerfully lifted up his eyes to heaven, and with calmness yielded his spirit to the Almighty. This happened on August 10, A. D. 258.

Persecutions in Africa—Account of Cyprian.

Fourteen years previous to this period, the persecution raged in Africa with peculiar violence ; and many thousands received the crown of martyrdom, among whom the following were the most distinguished characters ;

Cyprian, bishop of Carthage, was an eminent prelate, and a great ornament of the church. His doctrines were orthodox and pure ; his language easy and elegant ; and his manners graceful. He was said to be so perfect a master of rhetoric and logic, and

so complete in the practice of elocution, and the principles of philosophy, that he was made professor of those sciences in his native city of Carthage, where he taught with great success. He was educated in the principles of gentilism, and having a considerable fortune, he lived in great splendour and pomp. Gorgeous in attire, luxurious in feasting, vain of a numerous retinue, and fond of every kind of fashionable parade, he seemed to fancy that man was born to gratify all his appetites, and created for pleasure only. About the year 246, Cœcilius, a Christian minister of Carthage, became the instrument of Cyprian's conversion ; on which account, and for the great love that he always afterwards bore for his adviser, he was termed Cœcilius Cyprian.

Before his baptism he studied the scriptures with care, and being struck with the beauties of the truths they contained, he determined to practice the virtues they recommended. He sold his estate, distributed the money among the poor, dressed himself in plain attire, and commenced a life of austerity and solitude. Soon after his baptism he was made a presbyter ; and being greatly admired for his virtues and his works, on the death of Donatus, in A. D. 248, he was almost unanimously elected bishop of Carthage. The care of Cyprian not only extended over Carthage, but to Numidia and Mauritania. In all his transactions he took great care to ask the advice of his clergy, knowing that unanimity alone could be of service to the church ; this being one of his maxims, " That the bishop was in the church, and the church in the bishop ; so that unity can only be preserved by a close connexion between the pastor and his flock."

In the year 250, he was publicly proscribed by the emperor Decius, under the appellation of Cœcilius Cyprian, bishop of the Christians ; and the universal cry of the Pagans was, " Cyprian to the lions ! Cyprian to the beasts !"

The bishop, however, withdrew from the rage of the populace, and his effects were immediately confiscated. During his retirement he wrote thirty pious letters to his flock; but several schisms that then crept into the church gave him great uneasiness. The rigour of the persecution abating, he returned and did every thing in his power to expunge erroneous opinions and false doctrines. A terrible plague now breaking out at Carthage, it was, as usual, laid to the charge of the Christians; and the magistrates began to persecute accordingly, which occasioned an epistle from them to Cyprian, in answer to which he vindicates the cause of Christianity.

Cyprian was brought before the proconsul Aspasius Paternus, A. D. 257, when being commanded to conform to the religion of the empire, he boldly made a confession of his faith. This, however, did not occasion his death, but an order was made for his banishment, which exiled him to a little city on the Libyan sea. On the death of the proconsul who banished him, he returned to Carthage, but was soon after seized, and carried before the new governor, who condemned him to be beheaded: on the 14th of September, A. D. 258, this sentence was executed.

Fate of the Emperor Valerian.

This tyrant, who had so long and so terribly persecuted the Christians, was taken prisoner by Sapore, king of Persia, who carried him into his own country, and there treated him with the most unexampled indignity, making him kneel down as the meanest slave, and treading upon him as a footstool when he mounted his horse; saying, in a vaunting manner, "This posture is a greater proof which way the victory went, than all the pictures the Roman artists can draw."

Having kept him, for the space of seven years, in this abject state of slavery, he at last caused his eyes

to be put out, though he was then eighty-three years of age: and his desire of revenge not being satisfied, he soon after ordered his body to be flayed alive, and rubbed with salt, under which torments he expired.

Gallienus, the son of Valerian, succeeded him A. D. 260, and during his reign, the empire suffered many commotions, particularly earthquakes, pestilence, inundations, intestine broils, and incursions of barbarians. This emperor reflecting, that when his father favoured the Christians he prospered, and that when he persecuted them he was unsuccessful, determined to relax the persecution; so that (a few martyrs excepted) the church enjoyed peace for some years.

THE NINTH GENERAL PERSECUTION UNDER THE ROMAN EMPERORS.

In the year 274, the emperor Aurelian commenced a persecution against the Christians: the principal of the sufferers was Felix, bishop of Rome. This prelate was advanced to the Roman see in 274, and was beheaded in the same year, on the 22d of December. Agapetus, a young gentleman, who sold his estate, and gave the money to the poor, was seized as a Christian, tortured, and then brought to Præneste, a city within a day's journey of Rome, where he was beheaded. These are the only martyrs left upon record during this reign, as it was soon put a stop to by the emperor's being murdered by his own domestics, at Byzantium. Aurelian was succeeded by Tacitus, who was followed by Probus, as was the latter by Carus: this emperor being killed by a thunder-storm, his sons, Carinus and Numerian, succeeded him; and during all these reigns, the church enjoyed rest.

Diocletian mounting the imperial throne, A. D. 274, at first showed great favour to the Christians. In the

year 286, he associated Maximian with him in the empire; and the following Christians were put to death before any general persecution broke out—Felician and Primus, two brothers. They were seized by an order from the imperial court; and owning themselves Christians, were accordingly scourged, tortured, and finally beheaded. Marcus and Marcellianus were twins, natives of Rome, and of noble descent. Their parents were heathens, but the tutors to whom the education of the children was intrusted, brought them up as Christians. Being apprehended on account of their faith, they were severely tortured, and then sentenced to be beheaded. A respite of a month was obtained for them by their friends, when their father, mother, and all their relations, attempted to bring them back to Paganism, but in vain. At last their constancy subdued their persuaders, and their parents and whole family became converts to a faith they had just before condemned.

Tranquilinus, the father of the two young men, was sent for by the prefect, to give him an account of the success of his endeavours: when he confessed, that so far from having persuaded his sons to forsake the faith they had embraced, he was become a Christian himself. He then stopped till the magistrate had recovered from his surprise, and resuming his discourse, he used such powerful arguments, that he made a convert of him, who soon after sold his estate, resigned his command, and spent the remainder of his days in a pious retirement.

The prefect who succeeded the above-mentioned convert, had nothing of the disposition of his predecessor: he was morose and severe, and soon seized upon the whole of this Christian race, who were accordingly martyred by being tied to posts, and having their feet pierced with nails. After remaining in this situation for a day and a night, their sufferings

were put an end to by thrusting lances through their bodies.

Zoe, the wife of the gaoler, who had the care of the before mentioned martyrs, being greatly edified by their discourses, had a desire to become a Christian: this, as she was dumb with a palsy, she could only express by gestures. They gave her instructions in the faith, and told her to pray in her heart to God to relieve her from her disorder. She did so, and was at length relieved: for her paralytic disorder by degrees left her, and her speech returned again. This enforced her belief, and confirmed her a Christian: and her husband, finding her cured, became a convert himself. These conversions made a great noise, and the proselytes were apprehended. Zoe was commanded to sacrifice to Mars, which refusing, she was hanged upon a tree, and a fire of straw lighted under her. When her body was taken down, it was thrown into a river, with a large stone tied to it, in order to sink it.

Massacre of a whole Legion of Christian Soldiers.

A very remarkable affair occurred in A. D. 286. A legion of soldiers, consisting of 6666 men, contained none but Christians. This legion was called the Theban legion, because the men had been raised in Thebias: they were quartered in the East till the emperor Maximian ordered them to march to Gaul, to assist him against the rebels of Burgundy; when passing the Alps under the command of Mauritius, Candidus, and Exupernis, they at length joined the emperor. About this time, Maximian ordered a general sacrifice, at which the whole army were to assist; and he commanded that they should take oaths of allegiance, and swear, at the same time, to assist him in the extirpation of Christianity in Gaul.

Terrified at these orders, each individual of the Theban legion absolutely refused either to sacrifice, or take the oaths prescribed. This so greatly enrag-

ed Maximian, that he ordered the legion to be decimated, that is, every tenth man to be selected from the rest, and put to the sword. This cruel order having been put into execution, those who remained alive were still inflexible, when a second decimation took place, and again every tenth man of those living was put to the sword.

But this second severity made no more impression than the first; the soldiers preserved their fortitude and their principles; but, by the advice of their officers, drew up a remonstrance to the emperor, in which they told him, "that they were his subjects and his soldiers, but could not at the same time forget the Almighty; that they received their pay from him, and their existence from God. While your commands (said they) are not contradictory to those of our common master, we shall always be ready to obey, as we have been hitherto; but when the orders of our prince and those of the Almighty differ, we must always obey the latter. Our arms are devoted to the emperor's use, and shall be directed against his enemies; but we cannot submit to stain our hands with effusion of Christian blood; and how, indeed, could you, O emperor, be sure of our allegiance and fidelity, should we violate our obligation to our God, in whose service we were solemnly engaged before we entered the army? You commanded us to search out and to destroy the Christians: it is not necessary to look any farther for persons of that denomination; we ourselves are such, and we glory in the name. We saw our companions fall without the least opposition or murmuring, and thought them happy in dying for the sake of Christ. Nothing shall make us lift up our hands against our sovereign; we had rather die wrongfully, and by that means preserve our innocence, than live under a load of guilt: whatever you command, we are ready to suffer: we confess ourselves to be Christians, and therefore cannot persecute Christians, nor sacrifice to idols."

Such a declaration, it might be presumed, would have softened the emperor, but it had a contrary effect; for, enraged at their perseverance and unanimity, he commanded that the whole legion should be put to death, which was accordingly executed by the other troops, who cut them to pieces with their swords.

This barbarous transaction happened on the 22d of September, A. D. 286; and such was the inveterate malice of Maximian, that he sent to destroy every man of a few detachments that had been drafted from the Theban legion, and despatched to Italy.

Alban, the first British Martyr.

Alban, from whom St. Alban's, in Hertfordshire, received its name, was the first British martyr. He was originally a Pagan, and being of a humane disposition, he sheltered a Christian ecclesiastic, named Amphibalus, who was pursued on account of his religion. The pious example and edifying discourses of the refugee, made a great impression on the mind of Alban; he longed to become a member of a religion which charmed him; the fugitive minister, happy in the opportunity, took great pains to instruct him; and, before his discovery, perfected Alban's conversion.

Alban now took a firm resolution to preserve the sentiments of a Christian, or to die the death of a martyr. The enemies of Amphibalus, having intelligence of the place where he was secreted, came to the house of Alban, in order to apprehend him. The noble host, desirous of protecting his guest, changed clothes with him, in order to facilitate his escape; and when the soldiers came, offered himself up as the person for whom they were seeking. Being accordingly carried before the governor, the deceit was immediately discovered; and Amphibalus being absent, that officer determined to wreak his vengeance upon Alban: with this view he commanded

the prisoner to advance to the altar, and sacrifice to the Pagan deities. The brave Alban, however, refused to comply with the idolatrous injunction, and boldly professed himself to be a Christian. The governor therefore ordered him to be scourged, which punishment he bore with great fortitude, seeming to acquire new resolution from his sufferings: he was then beheaded.

The venerable Bede states, that upon this occasion, the executioner suddenly became a convert to Christianity, and entreated permission either to die for Alban or with him. Obtaining the latter request, they were beheaded by a soldier, who voluntarily undertook the task. This happened on the 22d of June, A. D. 287, at Verulam, now St. Alban's, in Hertfordshire, where a magnificent church was erected to his memory, about the time of Constantine the Great. This edifice was destroyed in the Saxon wars, but was rebuilt by Offa, king of Mercia, and a monastery erected adjoining to it, some remains of which are still visible.

THE TENTH GENERAL PERSECUTION UNDER THE ROMAN EMPERORS.

Notwithstanding the efforts of the heathens to exterminate the Christians, and abolish their mode of faith, yet they increased so greatly as to become formidable by their numbers. They, however, forgot the precepts of their meek prototype, and instead of adopting his humility, they gave themselves up to vanity, by dressing gayly, living sumptuously, building stately edifices for churches, &c., which created a general envy, and particularly excited the hatred of Galerius, the adopted son of Diocletian, who, stimulated by his mother, a bigoted Pagan, persuaded the emperor to commence a persecution. It accordingly began on the 23d of February, A. D. 303, that

being the day on which the Terminalia were celebrated, and on which, as the Pagans boasted, they hoped to put a termination to Christianity.

The persecution began in Nicomedia : the prefect of that city repaired, with a great number of officers and assistants, to the church of the Christians, where, having forced open the doors, they seized upon all the sacred books, and committed them to the flames. This transaction took place in the presence of Diocletian and Galerius, who also caused the church to be levelled with the ground. It was followed by a severe edict, commanding the destruction of all other Christian churches and books ; and an order soon succeeded, the object of which was to render Christians of all denominations outlaws, and consequently to make them incapable of holding any place of trust, profit, or dignity ; or of receiving any protection from the legal institutions of the realm. An immediate martyrdom was the result of the publication of this edict ; for a bold Christian not only tore it down from the place to which it was affixed, but execrated the name of the emperor for his injustice and cruelty : he was in consequence seized, severely tortured, and then burnt alive. The Christian prelates were likewise apprehended and imprisoned ; and Galerius privately ordered the imperial palace to be set on fire, that the Christians might be charged as the incendiaries, and a plausible pretext given for carrying on the persecution with the greatest severity.

A general sacrifice of the Christians.

A general sacrifice was then commanded, which occasioned various martyrdoms. Among others, a Christian, named Peter, was tortured, broiled, and then burnt ; several deacons and presbyters were seized upon, and executed by various means ; and the bishop of Nicomedia, named Anthimus, was beheaded. So great was the persecution, that there was no distinction made of age or sex, but all were

indiscriminately massacred. Many houses were set on fire, and whole Christian families perished in the flames ; others had stones fastened about their necks, and were driven into the sea. The persecution became general in all the Roman provinces, but more particularly in the East ; and as it lasted ten years, it is impossible to ascertain the numbers martyred, or to enumerate the various modes of martyrdom : some were beheaded in Arabia ; many devoured by wild beasts in Phœnicia ; great numbers were broiled on gridirons in Syria ; others had their bones broken, and in that manner were left to expire in Cappadocia ; and in Mesopotamia, several were hung with their heads downwards, over a slow fire, and suffocated. In Pontus, a variety of tortures were used ; in particular, pins were thrust under the nails of the prisoners, melted lead was poured upon them, but without effect. In Egypt, some Christians were buried alive in the earth, others were drowned in the Nile, many were hung in the air till they perished, and great numbers were thrown into large fires, &c. Scourges, racks, daggers, swords, poisons, crosses, and famine, were made use of in various parts to despatch the Christians ; and invention was exhausted to devise tortures against them.

A town of Phrygia, consisting entirely of Christians, was surrounded by a number of Pagan soldiers, to prevent any from escaping ; they then set the town on fire, and all the inhabitants perished in the flames.

Provincial Governors address the Emperor to stop the persecution.

At last, several governors of provinces represented to the imperial court, that "it was unfit to pollute the cities with the blood of the inhabitants, or to defame the government of the emperors with the death of so many subjects." Hence many were respited from execution ; but though not put to death, they were subjected to every species of indignity. Many

had their ears cut off, their noses slit, their right eyes put out, their limbs dislocated, and their flesh seared in conspicuous places, with red-hot irons.

Account of some who suffered.

Among those who forfeited their lives during this bloody persecution, was Sebastian, a celebrated holy man, who was born at Narbonne in Gaul, instructed in the principles of Christianity at Milan, and afterwards became an officer of the emperor's guard at Rome. He remained a true Christian in the midst of idolatry; unallured by the splendours of a court, and untainted by evil examples; esteemed by the most eminent, beloved by his equals, and admired by his inferiors, he lived happily, and kept his faith and place, till the rigour of the persecution deprived him of life. He was informed against, and betrayed to Fabian the Roman prætor, by Torquatus, a pretended Christian; but being of a rank too considerable to be put to death without the emperor's express orders, Diocletian was made acquainted with the circumstance.

The emperor, on hearing the accusation, sent for Sebastian, and charged him with ingratitude, in betraying the confidence reposed in him, and being an enemy to the gods of the empire and to himself. To this he answered, that his religion was of a good, not a pernicious tendency, and that it did not stimulate him to any thing against the welfare of the empire, or the emperor, and that the greatest proof he could give of his fidelity, was the praying to the only true God for the health and prosperity of his imperial person. Incensed at this reply, the emperor ordered him to be taken to a field near the city, termed the Campus Martius, and there to be shot to death with arrows; which sentence was accordingly executed. A few Christians attended at the place of execution, in order to give his body burial, perceiving signs of life in him, and moved him to a place of

security; they in a short time effected his recovery, and prepared him for a second martyrdom; for as soon as he was able to walk, he placed himself intentionally in the emperor's way as he was going to the temple. The unexpected appearance of a person supposed to be dead, greatly astonished the emperor, nor did the words of the martyr less surprise him; for he began with great severity to reprehend him for his various cruelties, and for his unreasonable prejudices against Christianity.

When Diocletian had overcome his surprise, he ordered Sebastian to be seized, carried to a place near the palace, and beat to death; and that the Christians should not either use means again to recover or bury his body, he ordered that it should be thrown into the common sewer. Nevertheless, a Christian lady named Lucina, found means to remove it from the sewer, and bury it in the catacombs.

A Pagan father seeks to sacrifice his own son.

Vitus, a Sicilian of a considerable family, was brought up a Christian; his virtues increased with his years, his constancy supported him under all his afflictions, and his faith was superior to the most dangerous perils and misfortunes. Hylas, his father, who was a Pagan, finding that he had been instructed in the principles of Christianity by the nurse who brought him up, used all his endeavours to bring him back to paganism; but finding his efforts in vain, he forgot all the feelings of a parent, and informed against his son to Valerian, governor of Sicily, who was very active in persecuting the Christians at this period.

This youth, when apprehended upon the information of his father, was little more than twelve years of age; Valerian, therefore, on account of his tender age, thought to frighten him out of his faith: he was accordingly threatened, and ordered to be severely scourged.

After this, the governor sent him back to his father, thinking that what he had suffered would make him change his principles ; but in this he was mistaken ; and Hylas, finding his son inflexible, suffered nature to sink under superstition, and determined to sacrifice his son to the idols. On being apprized of his design, Vitus escaped to Lucania, where, being seized, he was by order of Valerian put to death, June 14, A. D. 303. His nurse Crescentia, who brought him up as a Christian, and Modestus, a person who escaped with him, were martyred at the same time, but the manner is unknown.

There was one Victor, a Christian of a good family at Marseilles, in France, who spent a great part of the night in visiting the afflicted, and confirming the weak, which pious work he could not, consistently with his own safety, perform in the day-time ; and his fortune he spent in relieving the distresses of poor Christians. His actions becoming known, he was seized by the emperor's orders, and being carried before two prefects, they advised him to embrace paganism, and not forfeit the favour of his prince, on account of a dead man, as they styled Christ : in answer to this he replied, "That he preferred the service of that dead man, who was in reality the Son of God, and had risen from the grave, to all the advantages he could receive from the emperor's favour : that he was a soldier of Christ, and would therefore take care that the post he held under an earthly prince, should never interfere with his duty to the King of Heaven." For this reply, Victor was loaded with reproaches ; but being a man of rank, he was sent to the emperor to receive his final sentence. When brought before him, Maximian commanded him, under the severest penalties, to sacrifice to the Roman idols ; and on his refusal, ordered him to be bound, and dragged through the streets. During the execution of this order, he was treated by the enraged populace with all manner of indignities. Remaining,

however, inflexible, his courage was deemed obstinacy; to which he replied, "That the ready disposition of the disciples of Christ to undergo any sufferings on that score, and the joy with which they met the most ignominious and painful deaths, were sufficient proofs of their assurance of the object of that hope." He added, "That he was ready to give an example of what he had said in his own person." When stretched upon the rack, he turned his eyes towards heaven, and prayed to God to give him patience; after which he underwent the tortures with admirable fortitude. The executioners being tired with inflicting the torments, he was taken from the rack, and conveyed to a dungeon. During his confinement, he converted the jailers, named Alexander, Felician, and Longinus. This affair coming to the knowledge of the emperor, he ordered them immediately to be put to death, and they were beheaded accordingly. Victor was afterwards again put to the rack, beaten with clubs, and then again sent to his dungeon. Being a third time examined concerning his religion, he persevered in his principles; a small altar was then brought, and he was commanded to offer incense upon it immediately; but at the request he boldly stepped forward, and with his foot overthrew both altar and idol. The emperor Maximian, who was present, was so enraged at this, that he ordered the foot with which he had kicked the altar to be immediately cut off, and Victor to be thrown into a mill, and crushed to pieces with the stones. This horrid sentence was put into execution; but part of the apparatus breaking, he was drawn from the mill terribly bruised; and the emperor not having patience to stay till it was mended, ordered his head to be struck off, which was executed accordingly.

Persecutions in Africa.

It was in the year 304 the persecution of Diocletian again began to prevail, and many Christians were put to cruel tortures, and the most painful deaths; the most eminent of these were Saturninus, a priest of Albitina, a town of Africa: he used to preach and administer the sacrament to a society of Christians, who privately assembled at the house of Octavius Felix; having been informed against, Saturninus, with four of his children, and several other persons, were apprehended: and that their punishment might be more exemplary and public, they were sent to Carthage, the capital of Africa, where they were examined before Anulinus, the proconsul of that quarter of the globe.

Saturninus, on the examination, gave such spirited answers, and vindicated the Christian religion with such eloquence, as showed that he was worthy to preside over an assembly that possessed a faith of purity and truth. Anulinus, enraged at his arguments, ordered him to be stopped from saying any more, by being put to a variety of tortures, such as scourging, tearing his flesh with hooks, burning with hot irons, &c. Having been thus inhumanly tortured, he was remanded to prison, and there starved to death. His four children, notwithstanding they were variously tormented, remained steady in their faith; on which they were sent back to the dungeon in which their father was confined, and were also starved to death in the same manner.

Martyrdom of three Sisters.

Three sisters, Chionia, Agape, and Irene, were seized upon at Thessalonica. They had been educated in the Christian faith, but had taken great precautions to remain unknown. They therefore retired to a solitary place, and spent their hours in performing religious duties. Being, however, discovered and seized, they renounced their former timidity, blamed themselves for being so fearful, and begged of God to strengthen them against the great trial they had to undergo.

When Agape was examined before Dulcatius, the governor, and was asked whether she was disposed to comply with the laws of the land, and obey the mandates of the emperor, she answered, "That being a Christian, she could not comply with any laws which recommended the worship of idols and devils; that her resolution was fixed, and nothing could deter her from continuing in it." Her sister Chionia replied in the same manner; when the governor, not being able to draw them from their faith, pronounced sentence of condemnation on them; pursuant to which they were burnt, March 25, A. D. 304.

Irene was then brought before the governor, who fancied that the death of her sisters would have an effect upon her fears, and that the dread of similar sufferings would engage her to comply with his proposals. He therefore exhorted her to acknowledge the heathen deities, to sacrifice to them, to partake of the victims, and to deliver up her books relative to Christianity. But she positively refused to comply with any of them: the governor asked her who it was that persuaded her and her sisters to keep those books and writings? She answered, it was that God who commanded them to love him to the last; for which reason she was resolved to submit to be burned alive, rather than give them up into the hands of his professed enemies.

When the governor found that he could make no impression on her, he ordered her to be exposed naked in the streets : which shameful order having been executed, she was burnt, April, A. D. 304, at the same place where her sisters had suffered before her.

Martyrdom of Theodotus and others.

Theotecnus, the governor of Dalmatia, whose cruelty could be equalled by nothing but his bigotry, received the mandate for persecuting the Christians with great satisfaction, and wrote the emperor word that he would do his utmost endeavours to root out Christianity from every place under his jurisdiction. Thus encouraged by the governor, the pagans began to inform against, abuse, and persecute the Christians. Great numbers were seized upon and imprisoned ; their goods were destroyed, and their estates confiscated. Many fled into the woods, or retired to caves, where some supported themselves by feeding upon roots, and others perished by famine. Many were also starved in the city, by means of the following singular stratagem : The governor gave strict orders, that no provisions whatever should be exposed to sale in the markets, without having been first consecrated to the idols : hence the Christians were compelled to eat what had been offered to the devil or to refrain from food and perish. The latter dreadful alternative was chosen by many, who, to preserve the purity of their faith, heroically gave up their lives.

In these dreadful times Theodotus, a Christian inn-keeper of Ancyra, did all that he could to comfort the imprisoned, and buried the bodies of several who had been martyred, though it was forbidden on pain of death. He likewise privately assisted many with food ; for having laid in a large stock of corn and wine, he sold it at prime cost.

Polychronicus, a Christian, being seized, forfeited

his faith in order to preserve his life, and informed against his friend Theodotus, who, hearing of his treachery, surrendered himself to the governor of his own accord.

On his arrival in the court, he surveyed the instruments of torture with a smile, and seemed totally regardless of their effects. When placed at the bar, the governor informed him, that it was still in his power to save himself, by sacrificing to the gods of the empire; "and," he continued, "if you renounce your faith in Christ, I promise you my friendship, and the emperor's protection, and will constitute you one of the magistrates of the town."

Theodotus displayed great courage and eloquence in his answer: he absolutely refused to renounce his faith, declined the friendship of the governor and protection of the emperor, and treated the idols with the greatest contempt. The pagans on this were in general extremely clamorous against the prisoner, and demanded him to be immediately punished; the priests in particular rent their clothes, and tore their chaplets, the badges of their offices, through rage. The governor complied with their desire, when Theodotus was scourged, torn with hooks, and then placed upon the rack. After this, vinegar was poured into his wounds, his flesh was seared with burning torches, and his teeth were knocked out of their sockets. He was then remanded to prison, and as he went, pointing to his mangled body, he said to the people, "It was but just that Christians should suffer for him who suffered for us all." Five days afterwards he was brought from prison, tortured, and then beheaded.

Julitta, a Lycaonian of royal descent, was a Christian lady of great humility, constancy, and integrity. When the edict for sacrificing to idols was published at Iconium, she withdrew from that city, taking with her only her young son Cyricus, and two female ser-

vants. She was however seized at Tarsus, and being carried before Alexander, the governor, she acknowledged she was a Christian. For this confession her son was taken from her, and she was immediately put to the rack, and tortured with great severity, which she bore with pious resignation. The child, however, cried bitterly to get at his mother; when the governor, observing the beauty, and being melted at the tears of the infant, took him upon his knee, and endeavoured to pacify him. Nothing, however, could quiet Cyricus; he still called upon his mother, and at length, in imitation of her words, lisped out, "I am a Christian." This innocent expression turned the governor's compassion into rage; and, throwing the child furiously against the pavement, he dashed out his brains. The mother, who from the rack beheld the transaction, thanked the Almighty that her child was gone before her; and she should have no anxiety concerning his future welfare. To complete the torture, boiling pitch was poured on her feet, her sides were torn with hooks, and she was finally beheaded, April 16, A. D. 305.

Pantaleon, a native of Nicomedia, was instructed by his father in the learning of the pagans, and was taught the precepts of the gospel by his mother, who was a Christian. Applying to the study of medicine, he became eminent in that science, and was appointed physician to the emperor Galerius. The name of Pantaleon in Greek signifies *humane*, and the appellation well suited his nature, for he was one of the most benevolent men of his time; but his extraordinary reputation roused the jealousy of the pagan physicians, who accused him to the emperor. Galerius, on finding him a Christian, ordered him to be tortured, and then beheaded, which sentence was accordingly executed on July 27, A. D. 305.

Hermolaus, an aged and pious Christian, and an intimate acquaintance of Pantaleon, suffered martyr-

dom for his faith on the same day, and in the same manner.

Juitta, of Cappadocia, was a lady of distinguished abilities, great virtues, and uncommon courage; she was put to death in consequence of the accusation of a heathen who had usurped her estates, and bribed the judges in his favour. Refusing to offer incense to the Pagan deities, she was burnt to death.

Dorothea, a Christian of Cappadocia, was, by the governor's order, placed under the care of two women, who had become apostates to the faith, in order that she might be induced to follow their example. But her discourses had such an effect upon the two apostates, that they were reconverted, and put to death; soon after which, Dorothea was tortured, and then beheaded.

Pancratius was a native of Phrygia, but being made a Christian, and brought to Rome, by his uncle, he there suffered martyrdom.

Cyrinus, Nazarius, Nabor, and Basilides, four Christian officers, at Rome, were thrown into prison for their faith, scourged with rods of wire, and then beheaded.

Two Roman military officers, Nicander and Marcian, were apprehended on the same account. As they were both men of great abilities, the utmost endeavours were made to induce them to renounce Christianity; but being without effect, they were ordered to be beheaded. The execution was attended by vast crowds of the populace, among whom were the wives of the two sufferers. The consort of Nicander was a Christian, and encouraged her husband to meet his fate with fortitude; but the wife of Marcian being a Pagan, entreated her husband to save himself, for the sake of her and her child. Marcian, however, reproved her for her idolatry and folly, but tenderly embraced her and the infant. Nicander likewise took leave of his wife in the most affectionate manner, and then both, with great reso-

lution, received the crown of martyrdom. Besides these there were many others, whose names and sufferings are not recorded by the ancient historians.

Martyrdoms in Naples.

In the kingdom of Naples several martyrdoms took place: in particular, Januarius, bishop of Beneventum; Sosius, deacon of Misene; Proculus, another deacon; Eutyches and Acutius, two laymen; Festus, a deacon; and Desiderius, a curate, were all condemned, by the governor of Campania, to be devoured by wild beasts for professing Christianity. The animals, however, not touching them, they were beheaded.

Marcellus, a centurion of the Trajan legion, was posted at Tangier, and being a Christian, suffered martyrdom, under the following circumstances:

While he was there, the emperor's birth-day was kept, and the sacrifices to the pagan idols made a considerable part of that solemnity. All the subjects of the empire were expected, on that occasion, to conform to the blind religion of their prince; but Marcellus, who had been well instructed in the duties of his profession, expressed his detestation of those profane practices, by throwing away his belt, the badge of his military character, at the head of his company, declaring aloud, that he was a soldier of Christ, the eternal king. He then quitted his arms, and added, that from that moment he ceased to serve the emperor; and that he thus expressed his contempt of the gods of the empire, which were no better than deaf and dumb idols. "If," continued he, "their imperial majesties impose the obligation of sacrificing to them and their gods, as a necessary condition of their service, I here throw up my commission, and quit the army." This behaviour occasioned an order for his being beheaded. Cassian, secretary to the court which tried Marcellus, expressing his disapprobation of such proceedings, was ordered

into custody ; when avowing himself a Christian, he met with the same fate.

Martyrdom of St. George.

George was born in Cappadocia, of Christian parents ; by whom he was instructed in the tenets of the gospel. His father dying when he was young, he travelled with his mother into Palestine, which was her native country, where she inherited an estate, which afterwards descended to her son. George, being active and spirited, became a soldier, and was made a tribune or colonel. In this post he exhibited great proofs of his courage, and was promoted in the army of Diocletian. During the persecution, he threw up his command, went boldly to the senate-house, and avowed his being a Christian, taking occasion at the same time to remonstrate against paganism. This conduct so greatly provoked the senate, that he was ordered to be tortured, which he underwent with great constancy. He was afterwards, by the emperor's orders, dragged through the streets and beheaded.

Constantine becomes the champion of the Christians.

Constantine the Great at length determined to redress the grievances of the Christians, for which purpose he raised an army of 30,000 foot and 8,000 horse, with which he marched towards Rome, against Maxentius, the emperor. But reflecting on the fatal miscarriages of his predecessors, who had maintained a multiplicity of gods, and reposed an entire confidence in their assistance ; and considering that while his own father adored only one God he continually prospered ; Constantine rejected the adoration of idols, and implored the assistance of the Almighty ; who heard his prayers, and answered them in a manner so surprising and miraculous, that Eusebius acknowledges it would not have been credible, had he not received it from the emperor's own mouth, who publicly and solemnly ratified the truth upon his oath.

The vision of Constantine.

This vision of Constantine appears, upon the whole, to be entitled to little credit. Some ecclesiastical historians, indeed, and among them Milner, seem to admit the reality of the miracle; but the weight of evidence is certainly against it. Dr. Haweis gives up the miracle altogether, and pronounces it "an imposition." "The whole story," says the translator of Mosheim, "is attended with difficulties which render it, both as a miracle and a fact, extremely dubious." To this it may be added, that Eusebius, who has transmitted the account to us, and to whom Constantine related it, does not himself appear to have believed it. Neither the day nor the year, the time nor the place of the vision, is recorded. No evidence exists that any of the army saw the phenomenon; and, more than all, why, if Constantine believed it himself, did he neglect to be baptized till on his death bed, many years after the occurrence is said to have happened? In short, there is reason to believe it to have been a political fabrication—an artful contrivance to stimulate the army to greater zeal in the then approaching contest.—ED.

The army being advanced near Rome, and the emperor employed in his devout ejaculations, on the 27th day of October, about three o'clock in the afternoon, when the sun was declining, there suddenly appeared to him a pillar of light in the heavens, in the form of a cross, with this plain inscription on or about it, "In this overcome." Constantine was greatly surprised at this strange sight, which was visible to the whole army, who equally wondered at it with himself. The officers and commanders, prompted by the augurs and auspices, or sooth-sayers, looked upon it as an inauspicious omen, portending an unfortunate expedition; the emperor himself did not understand it, till at length our Saviour appeared to him in a vision, with the cross in his hand, commanding him to make a royal standard, like that he had

seen in the heavens, and cause it to be continually carried before his army, as an ensign both of victory and safety. Early the next morning, Constantine informed his friends and officers of what he had seen in the night, and sending for proper workmen, sat down by them and described to them the form of the standard, which he then ordered them to make with the greatest art and magnificence; and accordingly they made it thus; a long spear, plated with gold, with a transverse piece at the top, in the form of a cross, to which was fastened a four-square purple banner, embroidered with gold, and beset with precious stones, which reflected an amazing lustre: towards the top was depicted the emperor between his two sons; on the top of the shaft, above the cross, stood a crown, overlaid with gold and jewels, within which was placed the sacred symbol, namely, the two first letters of Christ in Greek, X and P, struck, one through the other: this device he afterwards bore not only upon his shields, but also upon his coins, many of which are still extant.

Death of Maximus and Licinius.

Afterwards engaging Maxentius, he defeated him, and entered the city of Rome in triumph. A law was now published in favour of the Christians, in which Licinius joined with Constantine, and a copy of it was sent to Maximus in the East. Maximus, who was a bigoted pagan, greatly disliked the edict, but being afraid of Constantine, did not, however, openly avow his disapprobation of it. At length, he invaded the territories of Licinius; but being defeated, put an end to his life by poison. The death of Maxentius has already been described.

Licinius was not really a Christian, but affected to appear such, through dread of Constantine's power; for even after publishing several edicts in favour of the Christians, he put to death Blase, bishop of Sebaste, several bishops and priests of Egypt and Ly-

bia, who were cut to pieces, and thrown into the sea ; and forty soldiers of the garrison of Sebaste, who suffered martyrdom by fire. This cruelty and hypocrisy greatly incensed Constantine ; he marched against Licinius, and defeated him, and that commander was afterwards slain by his own soldiers.

REMARKS ON THE VENGEANCE OF GOD TOWARDS
THE PERSECUTORS OF THE CHRISTIANS.

We cannot close our account of the ten persecutions under the Roman emperors, without calling the attention of the Christian reader to the manifestations of the great displeasure of the Almighty against the persecutors. History evidently proves, that no nation or individual can ultimately prosper, by whom Christ Jesus, the Son of God, is condemned. During the persecutions of the holy martyrs which we have related above, the Roman people were the victims of the cruelty and tyranny of their rulers, and the empire was perpetually torn and distracted by civil wars. In the reign of Tiberius, five thousand were crushed to death by the fall of a theatre, and on many other occasions the divine wrath was manifested against that cruel and merciless nation.

Neither did the emperors themselves escape without their just reward. Tiberius was murdered ; as were his three immediate successors. Galba, after a reign of only seven months, was put to death by Otho, who, being vanquished by Vitellius, killed himself. Vitellius, shortly after, was tortured, and his body thrown into the Tiber. Titus is said to have been poisoned by his brother Domitian, who was afterwards slain by his wife. Commodus was strangled. Pertinax and Didius were put to death ; Severus killed himself ; Caracalla slew his brother Geta, and was in his turn slain by Macrinus, who, with his son, was afterwards killed by his own soldiers. He-

liogabalus was put to death by the people. Alexander Severus, a virtuous emperor, was murdered by Maximinus, who was afterwards slain by his own army. Pupienus and Balbinus were murdered by the Prætorian guards. Gordian and Philip were slain. Decius was drowned, and his son killed in battle. Gallus and Volusianus were murdered by Æmilianus, who within three months afterwards was himself slain. Valerian was taken prisoner by the Persians, and at length flayed alive, and his son Gallienus was assassinated. Aurelian was murdered; as were Tacitus, Florianus, and Probus. Galerius died in a miserable manner, as did Maximinus of a horrible and loathsome disease. Maxentius, being conquered by Constantine, was drowned in his attempt to escape; and Licinius was deposed, and slain by his soldiers.

The Jews, also, for their obstinacy and wickedness in rejecting the gospel so graciously offered to them by Jesus Christ, were signally punished. Forty years had scarcely elapsed from the crucifixion of our Saviour, when Jerusalem was levelled with the ground, and more than a million of the Jews killed; innumerable multitudes sold for slaves; and many thousands torn to pieces by wild beasts, or otherwise cruelly slain. Indeed, the nation may be said to have been annihilated—its political existence was terminated, and the descendants of that people, which was once peculiarly favoured of God, are now scattered over the face of the earth—a by-word and a reproach among the nations.

Thus it is evident that wickedness and infidelity are certainly, though sometimes slowly, punished by Him who is just, although merciful: and if he has hitherto graciously refrained from visiting the sins of this nation with the punishment which they deserve, let us not be vain of that exemption; let us not attribute it to any merit of our own; but rather let it afford an additional motive to our gratitude and

praise ; let us unfeignedly thank him for his tender mercies daily vouchsafed to us ; and, while we bow before him in humble adoration, let us earnestly endeavour to preserve our worship of him free from all ungodliness and superstition. So shall we not only secure our happiness in this world, but, in the end, attain everlasting joy and felicity, through the merits of our blessed Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, who gave up himself as a precious sacrifice for our transgressions.

BOOK II.

An account of the persecutions of the Christians in Persia by Sapor II. ; in Egypt, &c. by the Arian heretics ; by Julian the Apostate ; by the Goths, Vandals, &c. &c.

SECTION I.

PERSECUTIONS OF THE CHRISTIANS IN PERSIA.

In consequence of the gospel having spread itself into Persia, the pagan priests became greatly alarmed, dreading the loss of their influence over the minds of their people. Sapor II., the grandson of Sapor I., at this time swayed the sceptre of Persia, A. D. 328. To him, therefore, the priests complained of the Christians, representing them to be the enemies of Persia, and secretly carrying on a correspondence with the Roman government. Naturally averse to Christianity, the jealousy and hatred of Sapor were greatly increased by the above representations of the priests, and orders were issued for the persecution of the Christians, throughout the Persian empire. Two other persecutions followed the above ; but the third, it is said, was more cruel and destructive than either of the others.

Martyrdom of Simeon and others.

In consequence of the above mandate of Saporess, Simeon, archbishop of Seleucia, with many other ecclesiastics, to the number of 128, were apprehended and accused of having betrayed the affairs of Persia to the Romans. The emperor, being greatly exasperated against them, ordered Simeon to be brought before him. The archbishop in his presence boldly acknowledged his faith, and defended the cause of Christianity. The emperor, offended at his freedom, ordered him to kneel before him as he had heretofore done. To this Simeon answered, "That being now brought before him a prisoner, for the truth of his religion, it was not lawful for him to kneel, lest he should be thought to worship a man, and betray his faith to his God." Whereupon the emperor told him, that if he did not kneel, he and all the Christians in his dominions should be put to death; but Simeon still rejected the command with disdain. The emperor then ordered him to be sent to prison.

A short time after, Simeon, with his fellow prisoners, was again examined, and commanded to worship the sun, agreeably to the Persian custom; but this they unanimously refused. The emperor then sentenced them to be beheaded, which sentence was accordingly executed.

An aged eunuch, named Usthazares, who had been tutor to the emperor, and was in great estimation at court, meeting Simeon as he was led to prison, saluted him. Simeon, however, (as Usthazares had formerly been a Christian, and had apostatized to oblige the emperor,) would not return his salute, but reproved him for his apostacy. This so affected the eunuch, that he burst into tears, and exclaimed, "Ah! how shall I hereafter look upon my God, whom I have denied, when Simeon, my old companion and familiar acquaintance, disdains to give me a gentle word, or to return my salute!"

The emperor, learning that his ancient tutor was greatly afflicted, sent for him, and asked him whether he desired any thing which could be procured for him; to which the eunuch replied, "That there was nothing that he wanted, which this earth could afford; but that his grief was of another kind, and for which he justly mourned, namely, that to oblige his Sovereign he had denied his God, and had dissemblingly worshipped the sun, against his own conscience; for which," continued he, "I am deserving of a double death; first for denying of Christ, and secondly, for dissembling with my king."

The emperor, greatly offended at this speech, ordered Usthazares to be beheaded; who therefore requested that it might be proclaimed, "That Usthazares did not die for any crime against the emperor or state; but only that being a Christian, he would not deny his God." This petition was granted, and was a great satisfaction to Usthazares, whose chief reason for desiring it was, because his falling off from Christ had caused many others to follow his example; who now hearing that he died for no crime but his religion, might, like him, return to Christ, and the faith. Usthazares then cheerfully yielded his neck to the sword.

Soon after the above execution, an edict was published, ordering that all who confessed themselves Christians, should be put to death; which caused the destruction of multitudes. About this time the empress of Persia falling sick, the sisters of Simeon, the archbishop, were accused by some of the magi of causing this calamity. This report being credited, they were, by the emperor's orders, sawed in quarters, and their limbs fixed upon poles, between which the empress passed, as a charm to effect the restoration of her health.

Acepsimus, and many other ecclesiastics, were seized, and ordered to adore the sun; which refusing, they were scourged, and then tormented to death,

or kept in prison till they expired. Athalas, a priest, though not put to death, was so miserably racked, that his arms were rendered useless; and he was ever after obliged to be fed like a child. In short, by this edict, above 16,000 persons either suffered horribly by torture, or lost their lives.

Constantine writes to the king of Persia, in favour of the Christians.

When Constantine the Great was informed of the persecutions in Persia, he was much concerned, and began to reflect in what manner he should redress their grievances, when an ambassador arrived from the Persian emperor, upon some political business. Constantine received him courteously, granted his demands, and wrote a letter to the Persian monarch in favour of the Christians, in which he alluded to the vengeance that had fallen on persecutors, and the success that had attended those who had refrained from the persecution; and then referring to the tyrants and persecuting emperors of his own time, he said, "I subdued those solely by faith in Christ; for which God was my helper, who gave me victory in battle, and made me triumph over my enemies; and hath so enlarged to me the bounds of the Roman empire, that it extends from the Western Ocean, almost to the uttermost parts of the East: for which purpose I neither offered sacrifices to the ancient deities, nor made use of charm or divination; but only offered up prayers to the almighty God, and followed the cross of Christ; and how glad should I be to hear that the throne of Persia flourished, by embracing the Christians! that so you with me, and they with you, may enjoy all the felicity your souls could desire; as undoubtedly you would, God, the Almighty Creator of all things, becoming your protector and defender. These men, therefore, I commend to your honour; I commit them unto you, desiring you to embrace them with humanity; for in so

doing, you will procure to yourself grace through faith, and bestow on me a benefit worthy of my thanks."

In consequence of this appeal, the persecution ended during the life of Sapores ; but it was renewed under his successors.

SECTION II.

PERSECUTIONS BY THE ARIAN HERETICS.

The sect denominated the Arian Heretics, had its origin from Arius,* a native of Lybia, and priest of Alexandria, who, in A. D. 318, began to publish his errors. He was condemned by a council of Lybian and Egyptian bishops, and the sentence was confirmed by the council of Nice, A. D. 325. After the death of Constantine the Great, the Arians found means to ingratiate themselves into the favour of Constantius, his son and successor in the East ; and hence a persecution was raised against the orthodox bishops and clergy. The celebrated Athanasius, and other bishops, were banished at this period, and their sees filled with Arians.

In Egypt and Lybia, thirty bishops were martyred, and many other Christians cruelly tormented ; and A. D. 336, George, the Arian bishop of Alexandria, under the authority of the emperor, began a persecution in that city and its environs, which was continued with the utmost severity. He was assisted by Catophonius, governor of Egypt ; Sebastian, general of the Egyptian forces ; Faustinus, the treasurer ; and a Roman officer, named Heraclius. Indeed, so fierce was this persecution, that the clergy were driven from Alexandria, their churches were

* Arius, the founder of this sect of heretics, and the first cause of the persecutions which are related in this section, died miserably at Constantinople, just as he was about to enter the church in triumph.

shut, and the severities practised by the Arian heretics were as great as those which had been exercised by the pagan idolaters. If a man accused of being a Christian made his escape, his whole family were massacred, and his effects forfeited. By this means the orthodox Christians, being deprived of all places of public worship in the city of Alexandria, used to perform their devotions in a desert at some distance from it. Having one Lord's day met for worship, George, the Arian bishop, engaged Sebastian, the general, to fall upon them with his soldiers, while they were at prayers; and many were sacrificed to the fury of the troops, while others were reserved for more cruel and lingering deaths; some were beaten on their faces till all their features were disfigured; or were lashed with twigs of palm-trees, with such violence, that they expired under the blows, or by the mortification of the wounds. Several, whose lives had been spared, were, however, banished to the deserts of Africa, where, amidst all their sufferings, they passed their time in prayer.

Secundus, an orthodox priest, differing in point of doctrine from a prelate of the same name, the bishop, who had imbibed all the opinions of Arianism, determined to put Secundus to death, for rejecting opinions which he himself had embraced. He therefore went with one Stephen, an Arian also, sought out Secundus privately, fell upon and murdered him; the holy martyr, just before he expired, calling upon Christ to receive his soul, and to forgive his enemies.

At this time, not satisfied with the cruelties exercised upon the orthodox Christians in Alexandria, the principal persecutors applied to the emperor for an order to banish them from Egypt and Lybia, and to give up their churches to the Arians: they obtained their request, and an order was sent for that purpose to Sebastian, who signified the emperor's pleasure to all the sub-governors and officers. Hence a great number of the clergy were seized and impri-

soned; and it appearing that they adopted the opinions of Athanasius, an order was signed for their banishment into the desert. While the orthodox clergy were thus used, many of the laity were condemned to the mines, or compelled to work in the quarries. Some few, indeed, escaped to other countries, and several were weak enough to renounce their faith, in order to avoid the severities of the persecutors.

Persecution of Paul.

Paul, the bishop of Constantinople, was a Macedonian, and had been designed, from his birth, for a clerical life. When Alexander, the predecessor of Paul, was on his death-bed, he was consulted by some of the clergy on the choice of a successor; when he told them, "That if they were disposed to choose a person of exemplary life, and thoroughly capable of instructing the people, Paul was the man; but if they had rather have a man acquainted with worldly affairs, and fit for the conversation of a court, they might then choose Macedonius." This latter was a deacon in the church of Constantinople, in which office he had spent many years, and gained great experience; and the dying prelate did both him and Paul justice in their different characters. Nevertheless, the Arians gave out, that Alexander had bestowed great commendations on Macedonius for sanctity, and had only given Paul the reputation of eloquence, and a capacity for business: after some struggle the orthodox party carried their point, and Paul was consecrated. Macedonius, offended at this preference, did his utmost to calumniate the new bishop; but not gaining belief, he dropped the charge, and was reconciled to him. This, however, was not the case with Eusebius of Nicomedia, who accused Paul of having led a disorderly life before his consecration; and of having been placed in the see of Constantinople without the consent of the bishops of

Nicomedia and Heraclea, two metropolitans, who ought to have been consulted upon that occasion.

Eusebius, to support these accusations, procured the emperor's authority, by representing that Paul having been chosen during the absence of Constantius, the imperial dignity had been insulted. This artifice succeeded, and Paul being deposed, Eusebius succeeded him.

Paul having thus lost all authority in the East, retired to the territories of Constans, in the west, where he was well received by the orthodox prelates and clergy. At Rome he visited Athanasius, and assisted at a council held there, by Julius, the bishop of that see. Letters being written by this council to the eastern prelates, Paul returned to Constantinople, but was not restored to his bishopric till the death of Eusebius. The Arians, however, constituting Macedonius their bishop, by the title of bishop of Constantinople, a kind of civil war ensued, in which many were put to death.

Constantius, the emperor, who was then at Antioch, hearing of this schism, laid the whole blame upon Paul, and ordered that he should be driven from Constantinople. But Hermogenes, the officer who had received the emperor's order, attempted in vain to put it into execution ; being slain by the orthodox Christians, who had risen in defence of Paul. This event greatly exasperated the emperor, who left Antioch in the depth of winter, and returned to Constantinople, with a design to punish the Christians. He, however, contented himself with banishing Paul, and suspending Macedonius. Paul then again retired to the territories of Constans, implored the protection of that emperor, and, by his intercession, was again vested in his see. His re-establishment exasperated his enemies, who made many attempts against his life, against which the affections of his people were his only security ; and being convinced that the emperor had no other motive for al-

lowing his stay at Constantinople, but the dread of disobliging his brother, Paul could not think himself wholly restored to his bishopric; and being very much concerned at what the orthodox bishops suffered from the power and malice of the Arian faction, he joined Athanasius, who was then in Italy, in soliciting a general council. This council was held at Sardica, in Illyrium, in the year 347, at which were present one hundred bishops of the western, and seventy-three of the eastern empire. But disagreeing in many points, the Arian bishops of the East retired to Philipopolis, in Thrace; and forming a meeting there, they termed it the council of Sardica, from which place they pretended to issue an excommunication against Julius, bishop of Rome; Paul, bishop of Constantinople; Athanasius, bishop of Alexandria; and several other prelates. In the year 350, the emperor Constans died, which gave the Arians fresh courage, and they applied to the emperor Constantius, who, being inclined towards the Arians, wrote an order to the prefect Philip, to remove Paul from the bishopric of Constantinople, and to restore Macedonius. Paul was then exiled to Cucucus, confined in a dark dungeon for six days, without food, and then strangled. He met death with uncommon fortitude.

The Arian party now made Gregory of Cappadocia, a very obscure person, bishop of Alexandria, after having deposed Athanasius. In the accomplishment of this affair, they were assisted by Philagerius, the governor of Egypt, who was an apostate, and who authorized them to commit every outrage. Hence, arming themselves with swords, clubs, &c. they broke into one of the principal churches of Alexandria, where great numbers of orthodox Christians were assembled at their devotions; and falling upon them in a most barbarous manner, without the least respect to sex or age, butchered the greater number. Potamo, a venerable bishop of Heraclea, who had

formerly lost one of his eyes in Diocletian's persecution, fell a martyr upon this occasion ; being so cruelly scourged and beaten that he died of his wounds. The Arians also broke into many places, public and private, under a pretence of searching for Athanasius, and committed innumerable barbarities ; robbing orphans, plundering the houses of widows, dragging virgins to private places to be the sacrifices of desire, imprisoning the clergy, burning churches and dwelling-houses belonging to the orthodox Christians ; besides other enormous cruelties.

SECTION III.

PERSECUTIONS UNDER JULIAN THE APOSTATE.

Julian the Apostate was the son of Julius Constantius, and the nephew of Constantine the Great. He studied the rudiments of grammar under the inspection of Mardonius, a eunuch, and a heathen. His father sent him afterwards to Nicomedia, to be instructed in the Christian religion, by Eusebius, his kinsman ; but his principles were corrupted by the pernicious doctrines of Maximus the magician, and Ecebolius the professor of rhetoric.

Constantius died in the year 361, when Julian succeeded him. But he had no sooner attained the imperial dignity, than he renounced Christianity and embraced paganism. He again restored idolatrous worship, by opening the several temples that had been shut up, rebuilding such as were destroyed, and ordering the magistrates and people to follow his example ; but he did not issue any edicts against Christianity. He recalled all banished pagans, allowed the free exercise of religion to every sect, but deprived the Christians of all offices, civil and military, and the clergy of the privileges granted to them by Constantine the Great. He was chaste, temper-

ate, vigilant, laborious, and apparently pious ; so that by his hypocrisy and pretended virtues, he for a time did more mischief to Christianity, than the most profligate of his predecessors.

Accordingly, this persecution was more dangerous than any of the former, as Julian, under the mask of clemency, practised the greatest cruelty, in seeking to delude the true believers ; and the Christian faith was now in more danger of being subverted than it ever had been, by means of a monarch at once witty and wicked, learned and hypocritical ; who, at first, made his attempts by flattering gifts and favours, bestowing offices and dignities ; and then, by prohibiting Christian schools, he compelled the children either to become idolaters, or to remain illiterate.

Julian ordered that Christians might be treated coldly upon all occasions, and in all parts of the empire, and employed witty persons to turn them and their principles into ridicule. Many were likewise martyred in his reign ; for though he did not publicly persecute them himself, he connived at their being murdered by his governors and officers ; and though he affected never to reward them for those cruelties, neither did he ever punish them.

SECTION IV.

PERSECUTIONS OF THE CHRISTIANS BY THE GOTHS AND VANDALS.

Many Scythian Goths having embraced Christianity about the time of Constantine the Great, the light of the gospel spread itself considerably in Scythia, though the two kings who ruled that country, and the majority of the people, continued pagans. Fritigern, king of the West Goths, was an ally to the Romans ; but Athanarick, king of the East Goths, was at war with them. The Christians, in the dominions of the former, lived unmolested, but the latter, having been defeated by the Romans, wreaked his ven-

geance on his Christian subjects, commencing his pagan injunctions in the year 370.

Eusebius, bishop of Samosata, makes a most distinguished figure in the ecclesiastical history, and was one of the most eminent champions of Christ against the Arian heresy. Eusebius, after being driven from his church, and wandering about through Syria and Palestine, encouraging the orthodox, was restored with other orthodox prelates to his see, which however he did not long enjoy, for an Arian woman threw a tile at him from the top of a house, which fractured his skull, and terminated his life in the year 380.

The Vandals, passing from Spain to Africa in the fifth century, under their leader Genseric, committed the most unheard-of cruelties. They persecuted the Christians wherever they came, and even laid waste the country as they passed, that the Christians left behind, who had escaped them, might not be able to subsist. Sometimes they freighted a vessel with martyrs, let it drift out to sea, or set fire to it, with the sufferers shackled on the decks.

Having seized and plundered the city of Carthage, they put the bishop and all the clergy into a leaky ship, and committed it to the mercy of the waves, thinking that they must all perish of course; but providentially the vessel arrived safe at Naples. Innumerable orthodox Christians were beaten, scourged, and banished to Capsur, where it pleased God to make them the means of converting many of the Moors to Christianity; but this coming to the ear of Genseric, he sent orders that they and their new converts should be tied by the feet to chariots, and dragged about till they were dashed to pieces.

Pampinian, the bishop of Mansuetes, was tortured to death with plates of hot iron; the bishop of Euri-ce was burnt, and the bishop of Habensa was banished, for refusing to deliver up the sacred books which were in his possession.

The Vandalian tyrant Genseric, having made an expedition into Italy, and plundered the city of Rome, returned to Africa, flushed with the success of his arms. The Arians took this occasion to persuade him to persecute the orthodox Christians, as they assured him that they were friends to the people of Rome,

After the decease of Huneric, his successor recalled him, and the rest of the orthodox clergy; the Arians, taking the alarm, persuaded him to banish them again, which he complied with, when Eugenius, exiled to Languedoc in France, died there of the hardships he underwent on the 6th of September, A. D. 305.

BOOK III.

History of the persecutions in various countries, between the fifth and the tenth centuries.

SECTION I.

PERSECUTIONS FROM THE FIFTH TO THE SEVENTH CENTURY.

Proterius was made a priest by Cyril, bishop of Alexandria, who was well acquainted with his virtues before he appointed him to preach. On the death of Cyril, the see of Alexandria was filled by Dioscorus, an inveterate enemy to the memory and family of his predecessor. Being condemned by the council of Chalcedon for having embraced the errors of Eutyches, he was deposed, and Proterius chosen to fill the vacant see, who was approved of by the emperor. This occasioned a dangerous insurrection, for the city of Alexandria was divided into two factions; the one to espouse the cause of the old, and

the other of the new prelate. In one of the commotions, the Eutychians determined to wreak thier vengeance on Proterius, who fled to the church for sanctuary ; but on Good Friday, A. D. 457, a large body of them rushed into the church, and barbarously murdered the prelate ; after which they dragged the body through the streets, insulted it, cut it to pieces, burnt it, and scattered the ashes in the air.

Hermenigildus, a Gothic prince, was the eldest son of Leovigildus, a king of the Goths, in Spain. This prince, who was originally an Arian, became a convert to the orthodox faith, by means of his wife, Ingonda. When the king heard that his son had changed his religious sentiments, he stripped him of the command at Seville, where he was governor, and threatened to put him to death, unless he renounced the faith he had newly embraced. The prince, in order to prevent the execution of his father's menaces began to put himself into a posture of defence ; and many of the orthodox persuasion in Spain declared for him. The king, exasperated at this act of rebellion, began to punish all the orthodox Christians who could be seized by his troops ; and thus a very severe persecution commenced : he likewise marched against his son at the head of a very powerful army. The prince took refuge in Seville, from which he fled, and was at length besieged and taken at Asieta. Loaded with chains, he was sent to Seville, and at the feast of Easter refusing to receive the Eucharist from an Arian bishop, the enraged king ordered his guards to cut the prince to pieces, which they punctually performed, April 13, A. D. 536.

Martin, bishop of Rome, was born at Todi, in Italy. He was naturally inclined to virtue, and his parents bestowed on him an admirable education. He opposed the heretics called the Monothelites, who were patronised by the emperor Heraclius. Martin was condemned at Constantinople, where he was exposed in the most public places to the ridicule

of the people, divested of all episcopal marks of distinction, and treated with the greatest scorn and severity. After lying some months in prison, Martin was sent to an island at some distance, and there cut to pieces, A. D. 655.

John, bishop of Bergamo, in Lombardy, was a learned man, and a good Christian. He did his utmost endeavours to clear the church from the errors of Arianism, and joining in his holy work with John, bishop of Milan, he was very successful against the heretics, on which account he was assassinated on July 11, A. D. 683.

Killien was born in Ireland, and received from his parents a pious and Christian education. He obtained the Roman Pontiff's license to preach to the pagans in Franconia, in Germany. At Wurtzburg he converted Gozbert, the governor, whose example was followed by the greater part of the people in two years after. Persuading Gozbert that his marriage with his brother's widow was sinful, the latter had him beheaded, A. D. 689.

SECTION II.

PERSECUTIONS FROM THE EIGHTH TO THE TENTH CENTURY.

Boniface, archbishop of Mentz, and father of the German church, was an Englishman, and is, in ecclesiastical history, looked upon as one of the brightest ornaments of this nation. Originally his name was Winfrid, or Winfrith, and he was born at Kirton, in Devonshire, then part of the West Saxon kingdom. When he was only about six years of age, he began to discover a propensity to reflection, and seemed solicitous to gain information on religious subjects. Wolfrad, the abbot, finding that he possessed a bright genius, as well as a strong inclination to study, had him removed to Nutscele, a

seminary of learning in the diocess of Winchester, where he would have a much greater opportunity of attaining improvement than at Exeter.

After due study, the abbot, seeing him qualified for the priesthood, obliged him to receive that holy order when he was about thirty years old. From which time he began to preach, and labour for the salvation of his fellow-creatures ; he was released to attend a synod of bishops in the kingdom of West Saxon. He afterwards, in 719, went to Rome, where Gregory II., who then sat in Peter's chair, received him with great friendship, and finding him full of all the virtues that compose the character of an apostolical missionary, dismissed him with a commission at large to preach the gospel to the pagans wherever he found them. Passing through Lombardy and Bavaria, he came to Thuringia, which country had before received the light of the gospel ; he next visited Utrecht, and then proceeded to Saxony, where he converted some thousands to Christianity.

Pope Gregory III. succeeded to the papal chair in 731, upon whose accession Boniface sent proper persons to Rome to acquaint him with the success of his labours. The pope not only answered the message by assuring him of the communion and friendship of the see of Rome, but, as a mark of his respect for our missionary, sent him the pallium, granted him the title of archbishop, or metropolitan of all Germany, and empowered him to erect new bishoprics.

Bavaria had at this time only one bishop ; he, therefore, pursuant to his commission from Rome, erected three new bishoprics,—one at Saltzbourg, a second at Freisingent, and a third at Ratisbon, and thus all Bavaria was divided into four diocesses.

Gregory III. was succeeded in the popedom by Zachary, A. D. 741, and the latter confirmed Boniface in his power ; and approved of all he had done in Germany, making him at the same time archbishop of Mentz, and metropolitan over thirteen bishoprics.

During the ministry of this meek prelate, Pepin was declared king of France. It was that prince's ambition to be crowned by the most holy prelate he could find, and Boniface was pitched on to perform that ceremony, which he did at Soissons in 752. The next year his great age and many infirmities lay so heavily on him, that with the consent of the new king, the bishops, &c. of his diocess, he consecrated Lullus, his countryman, a faithful disciple, and placed him in the see of Mentz. When he had thus eased himself of his charge, he recommended the church of Mentz to the care of the new bishop in very strong terms, desired he would finish the church at Fuld, and see him buried in it, for his end was near. Having left these orders, he took boat to the Rhine, and went to Friesland, where he converted and baptized several thousands of the barbarous natives, demolished the temples, and raised churches on the ruins of those superstitious structures. A day being appointed for confirming a great number of new converts, he ordered them to assemble in a new open plain, near the river Bourde. Thither he repaired the day before; and pitching a tent, determined to remain on the spot all night, in order to be ready early in the morning.

Some pagans, who were his inveterate enemies, having intelligence of this, poured down upon him and the companions of his mission in the night, and killed him and fifty-two of his companions and attendants, on June 5, A. D. 755. Thus fell the father of the Germanic church, the honour of England, and the glory of the age in which he lived.

Forty-two persons of Amorion, in Upper Phrygia, were martyred in the year 845, by Saracens, the circumstances of which transactions are as follows :

In the reign of Theophilus, the Saracens ravaged many parts of the eastern empire, gained several considerable advantages over the Christians, took the city of Armonian, and numbers suffered martyrdom.

Flora and Mary, two ladies of distinction, suffered martyrdom at the same time.

Perfectus was born at Corduba, in Spain, and brought up in the Christian faith. Having a quick genius, he made himself master of all the useful and polite literature of that age; and at the same time was not more celebrated for his abilities than admired for his piety. At length he took priest's orders, and performed the duties of his office with great assiduity and punctuality. Publicly declaring Mahomet an impostor, he was sentenced to be beheaded, and was accordingly executed, A. D. 850; after which his body was honourably interred by the Christians.

Adalbert, bishop of Prague, a Bohemian by birth, after being involved in many troubles, began to direct his thoughts to the conversion of the infidels, to which end he repaired to Dantzic, where he converted and baptized many, which so enraged the pagan priests, that they fell upon him and despatched him with darts, on the 23d of April, A. D. 997.

BOOK IV.

Persecutions in various countries, from the eleventh to the sixteenth century.

SECTION I.

PERSECUTIONS IN THE ELEVENTH CENTURY.

Account of Archbishop Alphage.

Alphage, archbishop of Canterbury, came from a considerable family in Gloucestershire, and received an education suitable to his birth. His parents were Christians, and Alphage inherited all their virtues. He was prudent, humble, pious, and chaste; and

made rapid progress both in polite literature and theological learning. In order to be more at leisure to contemplate the beauties of divine history, he determined to renounce his fortune, quit his home, and become a recluse. He accordingly retired to a monastery of Benedictines, at Deerhurst, in Gloucestershire, and soon after took the habit. Here he lived with the utmost temperance, and spent the greatest part of his time in prayer. But not thinking the austerities he underwent in this monastery sufficiently severe, he retired to a lonely cell near Bath, and lived in a manner still more rigid; but some devout persons finding out his retreat, his austere life soon became the subject of conversation in the neighbouring villages, whence many flocked to him, and begged to be taken under his pastoral care. Consenting to their importunities, he raised a monastery near his cell, by contributions of several well-disposed persons; formed his new pupils into a community, and placed a prior over them. Having prescribed rules for their regulation, he again retired to his cell, fervently wishing to pass the remainder of his days in religious security; when the following affair again drew him from his retreat.

The see of Winchester being vacant by the death of Ethelwold, a dispute arose respecting a successor to that bishopric. The clergy had been driven out of the cathedral for their scandalous lives, but were admitted again by king Ethelred, upon certain terms of reformation. The monks, who had been introduced upon their expulsion, looked upon themselves as the chapter of that church; and hence arose a violent contest between them and the clergy who had been re-admitted, about the election of a bishop; while both parties were vigorously determined upon supporting their own man. This dispute at last ran so high, that Dunstan, archbishop of Canterbury, as primate of all England, was obliged to interpose, and he consecrated Alphege to the vacant bishopric. to

the general satisfaction of all concerned in the election.

The behaviour of Alphage was a proof of his being equal to the dignity of his vocation. Piety flourished in his diocese; unity was established among his clergy and people; and the conduct of the church of Winchester made the bishop the admiration of the whole kingdom. Dunstan had an extraordinary veneration for Alphage, and when at the point of death, made it his ardent request to God, that he might succeed him in the see of Canterbury; which accordingly happened, though not till about eighteen years after Dunstan's death. In the course of that period, the metropolitan church was governed by three successive prelates; the last of whom was Alfric; upon whose decease, in 1006, Alphage was raised to the see of Canterbury. The people belonging to the diocese of Winchester, were too sensible of the loss they sustained by his translation, not to regret his removal to Canterbury.

Soon after he was made archbishop, he went to Rome, and received the pall from Pope John XVIII.

When Alphage had governed the see of Canterbury about four years with great reputation, the Danes made an incursion into England. Ethelred, who then reigned, was a prince of a very weak mind, and pusillanimous disposition. Being afraid to face the enemy himself, and too irresolute to furnish others with the means of acting, he suffered his country to be ravaged with impunity, and the greatest depredations to be committed by the enemy.

Upon this occasion, the archbishop Alphage acted with great resolution and humanity: he went boldly to the Danes, purchased the freedom of several whom they had made captives; found means to send food to others, whom he had not money enough to redeem, and even made converts of some of the Danes: but the latter circumstance made the Danes, who still continued pagans, greater enemies to him than they

would otherwise have been, and they were determined to be revenged on him. Edric, an English male-content and traitor, gave the Danes every encouragement, and assisted them in laying siege to Canterbury. When the design of attacking that city was known, many of the principal people made a precipitate flight from it, and would have persuaded Alphage to follow their example; but he would not listen to such a proposal; assured them he could not think of abandoning his flock at a time when his presence was more necessary than ever, and was resolved to hazard his life in their defence. While he was employed in assisting his people, Canterbury was taken by storm; the enemy poured into the town, and destroyed all that came in their way. The monks endeavoured to detain the archbishop in the church, where they hoped he might be safe. But his concern for his flock made him break from them, and run into the midst of the danger. On this occasion he addressed the enemy, begging the people might be saved, and that he alone might be their victim. The barbarians seized him, tied his hands, insulted and abused him, and obliged him to remain on the spot till his church was burnt, and the monks massacred. They then decimated all the inhabitants, both ecclesiastics and laymen, leaving only every tenth person alive: so that they put 7236 persons to death, and left only four monks and 800 laymen alive: after which they confined the archbishop in a dungeon, where they kept him for several months. During his confinement, they proposed to him to purchase his liberty with the sum of £3000, and to persuade the king to procure their departure out of the kingdom with a farther sum of £10,000. Alphage's circumstances not allowing him to satisfy the exorbitant demand, they bound him, and put him to severe torments, to oblige him to discover the treasure of his church. But he remaining inflexible, they remanded him to prison again, confined him six days longer, and then taking

him with them to Greenwich, brought him to trial. Here he exhorted them to forsake their idolatry, and embrace Christianity. This so enraged them, that the soldiers dragged him out of the camp, and beat him unmercifully. Alphage bore this treatment patiently, and even prayed for his persecutors. One of the soldiers, who had been converted and baptized by him, was greatly afflicted that his pains should be so lingering, as he knew his death was determined on : he therefore, in a kind of barbarous compassion, cut off his head, and thus put the finishing stroke to his martyrdom. This happened on April 19, A. D. 1012, on the very spot where the church of Greenwich, which is dedicated to him, now stands. After his death, his body was thrown into the Thames, but being found the next day, it was buried in the cathedral of St. Paul's by the bishops of London and Lincoln : from whence it was, in the year 1023, removed to Canterbury by Æthelnoth, the archbishop of that province.

SECTION II.

PERSECUTIONS OF THE WALDENSES IN FRANCE.

Before this time the church of Christ was tainted with many of the errors of popery, and superstition began to predominate ; but a few, who perceived the pernicious tendency of such errors, determined to show the light of the gospel in its real purity, and to disperse those clouds which artful priests had raised about it, in order to delude the people. The principal of these worthies was Berengarius, who, about the year 1000, boldly preached gospel truths according to their primitive purity. Many, from conviction, went over to his doctrine, and were, on that account, called Berengarians. Berengarius was succeeded by Peter Bruis, who preached at Toulouse, under the protection of an earl, named Hildephonsus :

and the whole tenets of the reformers, with the reasons of their separation from the church of Rome, were published in a book written by Bruis, under the title of ANTI-CHRIST.

In the year 1140, the number of the reformed was very great, and the probability of their increasing alarmed the pope, who wrote to several princes to banish them from their dominions, and employed many learned men to write against them.

In 1147, Henry of Toulouse being deemed their most eminent preacher, they were called Henricians; and as they would not admit of any proofs relative to religion but what could be deduced from the scriptures themselves, the popish party gave them the name of Apostolics. Peter Waldo, or Valdo, a native of Lyons, at this time became a strenuous opposer of popery: and from him the reformed received the appellation of Waldos, or Waldenses. Waldo was a man eminent for his learning and benevolence; and his doctrines were adopted by multitudes. The bishop of Lyons, taking umbrage at the freedom with which he treated the pope and the Romish clergy, sent to admonish him to refrain in future from such discourses; but Waldo answered, "That he could not be silent in a cause of such importance as the salvation of men's souls; wherein he must obey God rather than man."

Accusations of Peter Waldo against Popery.

His principal accusations against the Roman Catholics were, that they affirm the church of Rome to be the only infallible church of Christ upon earth; and that the pope is its head, and the vicar of Christ; that they hold the absurd doctrine of transubstantiation, insisting that the bread and wine given in the sacrament is the very identical body and blood of Christ which was nailed to the cross; that they believe there is a place called purgatory, where the souls of persons, after this life, are purged from the

sins of mortality, and that the pains and penalties here inflicted may be abated according to the masses said by and the money paid to the priests ; that they teach, the communion of one kind, or the receiving the wafer only, is sufficient for the lay people, though the clergy must be indulged with both bread and wine ; that they pray to the Virgin Mary and saints, though their prayers ought to be immediately to God ; that they pray for souls departed, though God decides their fate immediately on the decease of the person ; that they will not perform the service of the church in a language understood by the people in general ; that they place their devotion in the number of prayers, and not in the intent of the heart ; that they forbid marriage to the clergy, though God allowed it ; and that they used many things in baptism, though Christ used only water. When Pope Alexander the Third was informed of these transactions, he excommunicated Waldo and his adherents, and commanded the bishop of Lyons to exterminate them : thus began the papal persecutions against the Waldenses.

Tenets of the Waldenses.

1. That holy oil is not to be mingled in baptism.
2. That prayers used over things inanimate are superstitious.
3. Flesh may be eaten in Lent ; the clergy may marry ; and auricular confession is unnecessary.
4. Confirmation is no sacrament ; we are not bound to pay obedience to the pope ; ministers should live upon tithes ; no dignity sets one clergyman above another, for their superiority can only be drawn from real worth.
5. Images in churches are absurd ; image-worship is idolatry ; the pope's indulgences ridiculous ; and the miracles pretended to be done by the church of Rome are false.

6. Fornication and public stews ought not to be allowed ; purgatory is a fiction ; and deceased persons, called saints, ought not to be prayed to.

7. Extreme unction is not a sacrament ; and masses, indulgences, and prayers, are of no service to the dead.

8. The Lord's prayer ought to be the rule of all other prayers.

Waldo remained three years undiscovered in Lyons, though the utmost diligence was used to apprehend him ; but at length he found an opportunity of escaping from the place of his concealment to the mountains of Dauphiny. He soon after found means to propagate his doctrines in Dauphiny and Picardy, which so exasperated Philip, king of France, that he put the latter province, which contained most of the sectaries, under military execution ; destroying above 300 gentlemen's seats, erasing some walled towns, burning many of the reformed, and driving others into Flanders and Germany.

Notwithstanding these persecutions, the reformed religion seemed to flourish ; and the Waldenses, in various parts, became more numerous than ever. At length the pope accused them of heresy, and the monks of immorality. These slanders they, however, refuted ; but the pope, incensed at their increase, used all means for their extirpation ; such as excommunications, anathemas, canons, constitutions, decrees, &c., by which they were rendered incapable of holding places of trust, honour, or profit ; their lands were seized, their goods confiscated, and they were not permitted to be buried in consecrated ground. Some of the Waldenses having taken refuge in Spain, Aldephonsus, king of Aragon, at the instigation of the pope, published an edict, strictly ordering all Roman Catholics to persecute them wherever they could be found ; and decreeing that all who gave them the least assistance should be deemed traitors.

The year after this edict Aldephonsus was severely

punished by the hand of Providence ; for his son was defeated in a great battle, and 50,000 of his men slain, by which a considerable portion of his kingdom fell into the hands of the Moors.

The reformed ministers continued to preach boldly against the Romish church ; and Peter Waldo, in particular, wherever he went, asserted, that the pope was antichrist, that mass was an abomination, that the host was an idol, and that purgatory was a fable.

Origin of the Inquisition.

These proceedings of Waldo, and his reformed companions, occasioned the origin of inquisitors ; for pope Innocent III. authorized certain monks inquisitors, to find and deliver over the reformed to the secular power. The monks, upon the least surmise or information, gave up the reformed to the magistrate, who delivered them to the executioner ; for the process was short, as accusation supplied the place of evidence, and a fair trial was never granted to the accused.

Cruelties of the Pope, and artifices of Dominic.

When the pope found that these cruel means had not the desired effect, he determined to try others of a milder nature ; he therefore sent several learned monks to preach amongst the Waldenses, and induce them to change their opinions. Among these monks was one Dominic, who appeared extremely zealous in the cause of popery. He instituted an order, which, from him, was called the order of Dominican friars ; and the members of this order have ever since been the principal inquisitors in every country into which that horrible tribunal has been introduced. Their power was unlimited ; they proceeded against whom they pleased, without any consideration of age, sex, or rank. However infamous the accusers, the accusation was deemed valid ; and even anonymous in-

formations were thought sufficient evidence. The dearest friends or kindred could not, without danger, serve any one who was imprisoned on account of religion ; to convey to those who were confined a little straw, or give them a cup of water, was called favouring the heretics ; no lawyer dared to plead even for his own brother, or notary register any thing in favour of the reformed. The malice of the papists, indeed, went beyond the grave, and the bones of many Waldenses, who had been long dead, were dug up and burnt. If a man on his death-bed were accused of being a follower of Waldo, his estates were confiscated, and the heir defrauded of his inheritance ; and some were even obliged to make pilgrimages to the Holy Land, while the Dominicans took possession of their houses and property, which they refused to surrender to the owners upon their return.

Prisons filled with Christians.

A knight, named Enraudus, being accused of embracing the opinions of Waldo, was burnt at Paris A. D. 1201. About 1228, such numbers of the reformed were apprehended, that the archbishops of Aix, Arles, and Narbonne, took compassion on them and thus expressed themselves to the inquisitors :—“We hear that you have apprehended such a number of Waldenses, that it is not only impossible to defray the charge of their food and confinement, but to provide lime and stone to build prisons for them.”

Avarice and injustice of Boralli.

In 1380, a monk inquisitor, named Francis Boralli, had a commission granted him by pope Clement VII. to search for and punish the Waldenses in Aix, Ambrune, Geneva, Savoy, Orange, Arles, Vienne, Avignon, &c. He went to Ambrune, and summoned all the inhabitants to appear before him ; when those who were found to be of the reformed religion were delivered over to the secular power, and burnt ; and

those who did not appear were excommunicated for contumacy, and had their effects confiscated. In the distribution of the effects, the clergy had two thirds of the property of all who were condemned, and the secular power one third. All the reformed inhabitants of the other places named in the commission of this ecclesiastic were equal sufferers.

Persecutions in Dauphiny.

In 1400, the Waldenses who resided in the valley of Pragela were, at the instigation of some priests, suddenly attacked by a body of troops, who plundered their houses, murdered many, and drove others into the Alps, where great numbers were frozen to death, it being in the depth of winter. In 1460 a persecution was carried on in Dauphiny against the Waldenses, by the archbishop of Ambrune, who employed a monk, named John Vayleti, who proceeded with such violence, that not only the Waldenses, but even many papists were sufferers ; for if any of them expressed compassion or pity for the inoffensive people, they were accused of favouring the Waldenses, and punished. At length Vayleti's proceedings became so intolerable, that a great number of the papists themselves addressed a petition against him to Louis XI., king of France, who granted the request of the petitioners, and sent an order to the governor of Dauphiny to stop the persecution. Vayleti, however, by order of the archbishop, still continued it ; for, taking advantage of the last clause of the edict, he pretended that he did nothing contrary to the king's precept, who had ordered punishment to such as affirmed any thing against the holy catholic faith. This persecution at length concluded with the death of the archbishop, which happened in 1487.

Attempts of the Pope to exterminate the Waldenses.

Pope Innocent VIII., in 1488, determined to persecute the Waldenses. To this end he sent Albert

de Capitaneis, archdeacon of Cremona, to France ; who, on arriving in Dauphiny, craved the assistance of the king's lieutenant to exterminate the Waldenses from the valley of Loyse ; the lieutenant readily granted his assistance, and marched a body of troops to the place ; but when they arrived at the valley, they found that it had been deserted by the inhabitants, who had retired to the mountains, and hid themselves in caverns, &c. The archdeacon and lieutenant immediately followed them with the troops, and apprehending many, they cast them headlong from the precipices, by which they were dashed to pieces. Several, however, retired to the innermost parts of the caverns, and, knowing the intricacies, were able to conceal themselves. The archdeacon and lieutenant, not being able to come at them, ordered the mouths of the caves to be filled with fagots, which being lighted, those within were suffocated. On searching the caves, 400 infants were found smothered, either in their cradles or in their mothers' arms ; and, upon the whole, about 3000 men, women, and children were destroyed in this persecution.

After this tragical work, the lieutenant and archdeacon proceeded with the troops to Pragela and Frassanier, in order to persecute the Waldenses in those parts. But these having heard of the fate of their brethren in the valley of Loyse, thought proper to arm themselves ; and by fortifying the different passes, and bravely disputing the passages through them, they so harassed the troops that the lieutenant was compelled to retire without effecting his purpose.

The king of France favours the Waldenses.

In 1494, Anthony Fabri and Christopher de Salence, having a commission to persecute the Waldenses of Dauphiny, put some to death, sequestered the estates of others, and confiscated the goods of many ;

but Louis XII. coming to the crown in 1498, the Waldenses petitioned him for a restitution of their property. The king determined to have the affair impartially canvassed, and sent a commissioner of his own, together with a commissary from the pope, to make proper inquiries. The witnesses against the Waldenses having been examined, the innocence of these poor people evidently appeared, and the king's commissioner declared "that he only desired to be as good a Christian as the worst of them." When this favourable report was made to the king, he immediately gave orders that the Waldenses should have their property restored to them. The archbishop of Ambrune having the greatest quantity of these poor people's goods, it was generally imagined that he would set a laudable example to others, by being the first to restore them. The archbishop, however, declared that he would not restore any of the property, for it was incorporated with and become part of his archbishopric. He, however, with an affectation of candour, offered to relinquish several vineyards, of which he had dispossessed the Waldenses, provided the lords of Dauphiny would restore all they had taken from these poor people; but this the lords absolutely refused, being as desirous of keeping their plunder as the archbishop himself.

The Waldenses, finding that they were not likely to recover any of their property, again appealed to the king; and the monarch, having attended to their complaints, wrote to the archbishop; but that artful and avaricious prelate replied, "that at the commencement of the persecution the Waldenses had been excommunicated by the pope, in consequence of which their goods were distrained; therefore, till the sentence of excommunication was taken off, which had occasioned them to be seized, they could not be restored with propriety." This plea was allowed to be reasonable; and application was ineffectually made to the pope to remove the sentence

of excommunication ; for the archbishop, supposing this would be the case, had used all his interest at Rome to prevent the application from succeeding.

Progress of the Waldenses.

At length this sect, having spread from Dauphiny into several other provinces, became very numerous in Provence. At their first arrival, Provence was almost a desert ; but, by their great industry, it soon abounded with corn, wine, oil, fruit, &c. The pope, by being often near them at his seat at Avignon, heard occasionally many things concerning their differing from the church of Rome, which greatly exasperated him, and he determined to persecute them. Proceeding to some extremities, under the sanction of his ecclesiastical authority only, without consulting the king of France, the latter became alarmed, and sent his master of requests and his confessor to examine into the affair. On their return they reported that the Waldenses were not such dangerous or bad people as they had been represented ; that they lived with perfect honesty, were friendly to all, caused their children to be baptized, had them taught the Lord's prayer, creed, and ten commandments ; expounded the Scriptures with purity, kept the Lord's day sacred, feared God, honoured the king, and wished well to the state. "Then," said the king, "they are much better Christians than myself or my Catholic subjects, and therefore they shall not be persecuted." He was as good as his word, and sent orders to stop the persecution.

SECTION III.

PERSECUTIONS OF THE ALBIGENSES.

The Albigenses were people of the reformed religion, who inhabited the country of Albi. They were condemned on account of religion, in the coun-

cil of Lateran, by order of Pope Alexander III., but they increased so prodigiously, that many cities were inhabited by persons only of their persuasion, and several eminent noblemen embraced their doctrines. Among the latter were Raymond, earl of Toulouse, Raymond, earl of Foix, the earl of Beziers, &c. The pope, at length, pretended that he wished to draw them to the Romish faith by sound argument and clear reasoning, and for this end ordered a general disputation ; in which, however, the popish doctors were entirely overcome by the arguments of Arnold, a reformed clergyman, whose reasonings were so strong that they were compelled to confess their force.

Persecution of the Earl of Toulouse.

A friar, named Peter, having been murdered in the dominions of the earl of Toulouse, the pope made the murder a pretence to persecute that nobleman and his subjects. He sent persons throughout all Europe, in order to raise forces to act coercively against the Albigenses, and promised Paradise to all who would assist in this war, (which he termed holy,) and bear arms for forty days. The same indulgences were held out to all who entered for this purpose, as to such as engaged in crusades to the Holy Land. The pope likewise sent orders to all archbishops, bishops, &c. to excommunicate the earl of Toulouse every Sabbath and festival ; at the same time absolving all his subjects from their oaths of allegiance to him, and commanding them to pursue his person, possess his lands, destroy his property, and murder such of his subjects as continued faithful to him. The earl of Toulouse, hearing of these mighty preparations against him, wrote to the pope in a very candid manner, desiring not to be condemned unheard, and assuring him that he had not the least hand in Peter's death ; for that friar was killed by a gentleman, who, immediately after the murder, fled out of

his territories. But the pope, being determined on his destruction, was resolved not to hear his defence; and a formidable army, with several noblemen and prelates at the head of it, began its march against the Albigenses. The earl had only the alternative to oppose force by force, or submit; and as he despaired of success in attempting the former, he determined on the latter. The pope's legate being at Valence, the earl repaired thither, and said "he was surprised that such a number of armed men should be sent against him, before the least proof of his guilt had been deduced. He therefore came voluntarily to surrender himself, armed only with the testimony of a good conscience, and hoped that the troops would be prevented from plundering his innocent subjects, as he thought himself a sufficient pledge for any vengeance they chose to take on account of the death of a friar." The legate replied, that he was very glad the earl had voluntarily surrendered; but, with respect to the proposal, he could not pretend to countermand the orders to the troops, unless he would consent to deliver up seven of his best fortified castles as securities for his future behaviour. At this demand the earl perceived his error in submitting, but it was too late: he knew himself to be a prisoner, and therefore sent an order for the delivery of the castles. The pope's legate had no sooner garrisoned these places, than he ordered the respective governors to appear before him. When they came, he said, "that the earl of Toulouse having delivered up his castles to the pope, they must consider that they were now the pope's subjects, and not the earl's; and that they must therefore act conformably to their new allegiance." The governors were greatly astonished to see their lord thus in chains, and themselves compelled to act in a manner so contrary to their inclinations and consciences. But the subsequent treatment of the earl afflicted them still more; for he was stripped nearly naked, led nine times

round the grave of friar Peter, and severely scourged before all the people. Not content with this, the legate obliged him to swear that he would be obedient to the pope during the remainder of his life, conform to the church of Rome, and make irreconcilable war against the Albigenses; and even ordered him, by the oaths he had newly taken, to join the troops, and inspect the siege of Beziers. But thinking this too hard an injunction, he took an opportunity privately to quit the army, and determined to go to the pope and relate the ill usage he had received.

Siege of Beziers.

The army, however, proceeded to besiege Beziers; and the earl of Beziers, who was governor of that city, thinking it impossible to defend the place, came out, and presenting himself before the legate, implored mercy for the inhabitants: intimating, that there were as many Roman Catholics as Albigenses in that city. The legate replied, that all excuses were useless; the place must be delivered up at discretion, or the most dreadful consequences would ensue.

The earl of Beziers, returning into the city, told the inhabitants he could obtain no mercy, unless the Albigenses would abjure their religion, and conform to the worship of the church of Rome. The Roman Catholics pressed the Albigenses to comply with his request; but the Albigenses nobly answered, that they would not forsake their religion for the base price of their frail life; that God was able, if he pleased, to defend them; but if he would be glorified by the confession of their faith, it would be a great honour to them to die for his sake. They added, that they had rather displease the pope, who could but kill their bodies, than God, who could cast both body and soul into hell. On this the popish party, finding their importunities ineffectual sent their bishop to the legate, beseeching him not to include them in the

chastisement of the Albigenses; and representing, that the best means to win the latter over to the Roman Catholic persuasion, was by gentleness, and not by rigour. The legate, upon hearing this, flew into a violent passion with the bishop, and declared that, "If all the city did not acknowledge their fault, they should taste of one curse, without distinction of religion, sex, or age."

Horrid cruelties on taking the town.

The inhabitants refusing to yield upon such terms, a general assault was made, and the place taken by storm, when every cruelty that barbarous superstition could devise was practised; nothing was to be heard but the groans of men, who lay weltering in their blood, the lamentations of mothers, who, after being violated by the soldiery, had their children taken from them, and dashed to pieces before their faces. The city being fired in various parts, new scenes of confusion arose; in several places the streets were streaming with blood. Those who hid themselves in their dwellings, had only the dreadful alternative to remain and perish in the flames, or rush out and fall by the swords of the soldiers. The bloody legate, during these infernal proceedings, enjoyed the carnage, and even cried out to the troops, "Kill them, kill them all; kill man, woman, and child; kill Roman Catholics as well as Albigenses, for when they are dead the Lord knows how to pick out his own." Thus the beautiful city of Bezieres was reduced to a heap of ruins; and 60,000 persons were murdered.

Courage of the earl of Bezieres.

The earl of Bezieres and a few others made their escape, and went to Carcasson, which they endeavoured to put in the best posture of defence. The legate, not willing to lose an opportunity of spilling blood during the forty days which the troops were to

serve, led them immediately against Carcasson. As soon as the place was invested, a furious assault was given, but the besiegers were repulsed with great slaughter; and upon this occasion the earl of Beziers gave the most distinguished proofs of his courage, saying, to encourage the besieged, "We had better die fighting than fall into the hands of such bigoted and bloody enemies."

Two miles from the city of Carcasson there was a small town of the same name, which the Albigenes had likewise fortified. The legate being enraged at the repulse he had received from the city of Carcasson, determined to wreak his vengeance upon the town: the next morning he made a general assault; and though the place was bravely defended, he took it by storm, put all within it to the sword, and then burnt the town.

During these transactions the king of Arragon arrived at the camp, and after paying his obeisance to the legate, told him he understood the earl of Beziers, his kinsman, was in the city of Carcasson, and that, if he would grant him permission, he would go thither and endeavour to make him sensible of the duty he owed to the pope and church: the legate acquiescing, the king repaired to the earl, and asked him from what motives he shut himself up in that city against so great an army. The earl answered, it was to defend his life, goods, and subjects; that he knew the pope, under the pretence of religion, resolved to destroy his uncle, the earl of Toulouse, and himself; that he saw the cruelty which they had used at Beziers, even against the priests; and at the town of Carcasson; and that they must look for no mercy from the legate or his army; he, therefore, rather chose to die, defending himself and his subjects, than fall into the hands of so inexorable an enemy as the legate; that though he had in his city some that were of another religion, yet they were such as had not wronged any, were come to his suc-

cour in his greatest extremity, and for their good service he was resolved not to abandon them ; that his trust was in God, the defender of the oppressed ; and that he would assist them against those ill-advised men who forsook their own homes, to burn, ravage, and murder, without reason, judgment, or mercy.

Infamous treachery of the legate.

The king reported to the legate what the earl had said : the legate, after considering for some time, replied, "For your sake, Sir, I will receive the earl of Bezieres to mercy, and with him twelve others shall be safe, and be permitted to retire with their property : but as for the rest, I am determined to have them at my discretion." This answer displeased the king ; and when the earl heard it, he absolutely refused to comply with such terms. The legate then commanded another assault, but his troops were again repulsed with great slaughter, and the dead bodies occasioned a stench that was exceedingly offensive both to the besieged and the besiegers. The legate, vexed and alarmed at this second disappointment, determined to act by stratagem. He therefore sent a person, well skilled in dissimulation and artifice, to the earl of Bezieres, with a seeming friendly message. The design was, by any means, to induce the earl to leave the city, in order to have an interview with the legate ; and to this end the messenger was to promise, or swear, whatever he thought proper ; for, said the legate, "swear to what falsehoods you will in such a cause, I will give you absolution."

This infamous plot succeeded : for the earl, believing the promises made him of personal security, and crediting the solemn oaths that the perjured agent swore upon the occasion, left the city and went with him. The legate no sooner saw him, than he told him he was a prisoner, and must remain so till Carcasson was surrendered, and the inhabitants taught their duty to the pope. The earl, on hearing this,

cried out that he was betrayed, and exclaimed against the treachery of the legate, and the perjury of the person he had employed. But he was ordered into close confinement, and the place summoned to surrender immediately.

The people, on hearing the captivity of the earl, were thrown into the utmost consternation, when one of the citizens informed the rest, that he had been formerly told by some old men, that there was a very capacious subterraneous passage, which led from thence to the castle of Camaret, at three leagues distance. "If," continued he, "we can find this passage, we may all escape before the legate can be apprized of our flight." This information was joyfully received; all were employed to search for the passage; and at length it was discovered. Early in the evening the inhabitants began their flight, taking with them their wives, children, and a few days' provision, and such property as was most valuable and portable. They reached the castle by the morning, and escaped to Arragon, Catalonia, and such other places as they thought would secure them from the power of the sanguinary legate.

Next morning the troops were astonished, not hearing any noise, nor seeing any man stir in the city; yet they approached the walls with much fear, lest it should be but a stratagem to endanger them; but finding no opposition, they mounted the walls, crying out that the Albigenses were fled; and thus was the city, with all the spoils, taken, and the earl of Beziers committed to prison in one of the strongest towers of the castle, where he soon after died.

The legate now called all the prelates and great lords of his army together, telling them, that though it was requisite there should be always a legate in the army, yet it was likewise necessary that there should be always a secular general, wise and valiant, to command in all their affairs, &c. This charge was first offered to the duke of Burgogne, then to

the earl of Ennevers, and thirdly, to the earl of St. Paul ; but they all refused it. At length it was offered to Simon, earl of Montfort, who, after some excuses, accepted it. Four thousand men were left to garrison Carcasson, and the deceased earl of Beziers was succeeded in title and dignity by earl Simon, a bigoted Roman Catholic, who threatened vengeance on the Albigenses, unless they conformed to the worship of the church of Rome. But the king of Arragon, who was in his heart of the reformed persuasion, secretly encouraged the Albigenses, and gave them hopes that if they acted with prudence, they might cast off the yoke of the tyrannical earl Simon. They took his advice, and while Simon was gone to Montpellier, they surprised some of his fortresses, and were successful in several expeditions against his officers.

Conduct of Simon.

These proceedings so enraged Simon, that, returning from Montpellier, he collected together some forces, marched against the Albigenses, and ordered every prisoner he took to be immediately burnt ; but not succeeding in some of his enterprises, he grew disheartened, and wrote to every Roman Catholic power in Europe to send him assistance, otherwise he should not be able to hold out against the Albigenses. He soon received some succours, with which he attacked the castle of Beron, and making himself master of it, ordered the eyes to be put out and the noses to be cut off of all the garrison, one person alone excepted, who was deprived of one eye only, that he might conduct the rest to Cabaret. He then undertook the siege of Menerbe, which, on account of the want of water, was obliged to yield to him. The lord of Termes, the governor, was put in prison, where he died ; his wife, sister, daughter, and 180 others, were committed to the flames. Many other castles surrendered to the forces of this monster, and

the inhabitants were butchered in a manner equally barbarous.

Earl of Toulouse excommunicated.

In the mean time, the earl of Toulouse, by means of letters of recommendation from the king of France, was reconciled to the pope: at least the pope pretended to give him remission for the death of friar Peter, and to absolve him from all other crimes he had committed. But the legate, by the connivance of the pope, did all he could to ruin the earl. Some altercations having passed between them, the legate excommunicated the earl; and the bishop of Toulouse, upon this encouragement, sent this imprudent message to the earl: "That as he was an excommunicated person, he commanded him to depart the city; for an ecclesiastic could not say mass with propriety, while a person of such a description was so near him."

Being greatly exasperated at the bishop's insolence, the earl sent him an order immediately to depart from the place on pain of death. This order was all the prelate wanted, as it would give him some reason to complain of his lord. The bishop, with the canons of the cathedral church, marched out of the city in solemn procession, bare-footed and bare-headed, taking with them the cross, banner, host, &c., and proceeded in that manner to the legate's army, where they were received with great respect as persecuted saints; and the legate thought this a sufficient excuse to proceed against the earl of Toulouse for having, as he termed it, relapsed from the truth. He attempted to get the earl into his power by stratagem, but the latter being apprized of his design, escaped. The legate, enraged at this disappointment, laid siege to the castle of Montferrand, which belonged to the earl, and was governed by Baldwin, his brother. On the first summons, Baldwin not only surrendered, but abjured his religion, and turned

Papist. This event, which severely afflicted the earl, was followed by another that gave him still greater mortification; for his old friend, the king of Arragon, forsook his interest, and agreed to give his daughter in marriage to earl Simon's eldest son; the legate's troops were then joined by the forces of Arragon and those belonging to earl Simon, on which they jointly laid siege to Toulouse.

Successes of the Albigenses.

Nevertheless, the earl determined to interrupt the besiegers by frequent sallies. In the first attempt he met with a severe repulse; but in the second he took Simon's son prisoner, and in the third he unhorsed Simon himself. After several furious assaults given by the popish army, and some successful sallies of the Albigenses, the earl of Toulouse compelled his enemies to raise the siege. In their retreat they did much mischief in the counties through which they passed, and put many defenceless Albigenses to death.

The earl of Toulouse now did all he could to recover the friendship of the king of Arragon; and as the marriage ceremony between that monarch's daughter and Simon's son had not been performed, he entreated him to break off that match, and proposed another more proper, viz., that his own eldest son and heir should wed the princess of Arragon, and that by this match their friendship should be again united and more firmly cemented. His majesty was easily persuaded not only to agree to this proposal, but to form a league with the principal Albigenses, and to put himself as captain-general at the head of their united forces, consisting of his own people, and of the troops of the earls of Toulouse, Foix, and Comminges. The Papists were greatly alarmed at these proceedings; Simon sent to all parts of Europe, to engage the assistance of the Roman Catholic powers, and the pope's legate began hostilities by entering the dominions of the

earl of Foix, and committing the most cruel depredations.

As soon as the army of the Albigenes was ready, the king of Arragon began his operations by laying siege to Murat, a strongly fortified town near Toulouse, belonging to the Roman Catholics. Earl Simon, by forced marches, came to the assistance of the place, at the time when the king of Arragon, who kept very little discipline in his army, was feasting and revelling. Simon suddenly attacked the Albigenes, while they were in confusion, when the united forces of the reformed were defeated, and the king of Arragon was killed. The loss of this battle was imputed to negligence of the king, who would have as much entertainment in a camp, as if he had been securely at peace in his capital. The victory made the popish commanders declare they would entirely extirpate the whole race of the Albigenes; and Simon sent an insolent message to the earls of Toulouse, Foix, and Comminges, to deliver to him all the castles and fortresses of which they were possessed. Those noblemen, instead of answering the demand, retired to their respective territories, to put them into the best posture of resistance.

Surrender of Toulouse.

Soon after, Simon marched towards the city of Toulouse, when the earl of Toulouse, who had retired to Montalban, sent word to the citizens to make the best terms they could with the Roman Catholics, as he was confident they could not hold out a siege; but he recommended them to preserve their hearts for him, though they surrendered their persons to another. The citizens of Toulouse, upon receiving this intimation, sent deputies to Simon, with offers of immediate surrender, provided the city itself, and the persons and properties of its inhabitants, should be protected from devastation. These conditions were agreed to, and Simon, in order to ingratiate

himself at court, wrote a letter to prince Lewis, the son of Philip, king of France, informing him that the city of Toulouse had offered to surrender to him; but being willing that the prince should have the honour of receiving the keys, and the homage of the people, he begged that he would repair to the camp for that purpose. The prince, pleased with the invitation, went directly to the army, and had the city of Toulouse surrendered to him in form. The pope's legate, however, was greatly displeased at the mild conditions granted to the people, and insisted, that though the prince might take upon him the sovereignty of the place, and receive the homage of the people, yet the plunder belonged to the *holy pilgrims*, (for so the popish soldiers employed in those expeditions were called); and that the place, as a receptacle of heretics, ought to be dismantled. The prince and earl Simon in vain remonstrated against proceedings so contrary to the conditions granted at the surrender: the legate was peremptory, when earl Simon and the prince, unwilling to come to an open rupture with him, gave up the point. The legate immediately set his holy pilgrims to work, when they presently dismantled the city, and plundered the inhabitants of all their property, in defiance of the security granted to them by the articles of the surrender.

Dispute between the Legate and Prince.

Now the legate, finding that among the Albigenses were many lucrative places which would fall to the disposal of the prince, determined, by an artifice, to deprive him of any advantage which might accrue from them; to this end, he gave absolution to the Albigenses, which, though they had not in the least changed their religious opinions, he called reconciling them to the church. The prince, not apprized of this stratagem, was about to give his officers possession of some places of profit; when, to his great

astonishment, the legate informed him, that he had no power to dispose of those places. The prince demanded an explanation of his meaning. "My meaning," replied the legate, "is, that the people have received absolution, and being reconciled to, are consequently under the protection of, the church ; therefore, all places among, or connected with, them, are in the disposal of the church only."

The prince, offended at this mode of reasoning, and highly displeased at the meanness of the subterfuge, nevertheless thought proper to dissemble his resentment. But being determined to quit the legate, he put the troops that were under his command in motion, and marched to attack some other fortresses ; but he found, wherever he came, that the legate had played the same trick, and plainly perceived, if he continued his military operations, that when unsuccessful, he should bear all the blame, and when successful, the legate would steal all the profit ; he therefore left the army in disgust, and returned to court.

Defeat of Earl Simon.

On this, earl Simon, with his own forces, those the prince had just quitted, and some other auxiliaries, undertook the siege of Foix, being chiefly provoked to it by the death of his brother, who was slain by the earl of Foix. He lay before the castle of Foix for ten days, during which time he frequently assaulted it, but was as often repulsed. Hearing that an army of Arragonese were in full march towards him, in order to revenge the death of their king, he raised the siege, and went to meet them. The earl of Foix immediately sallied out and harassed his rear, and the Arragonese, attacking his front, gave him a total defeat, which compelled him to shut himself up in Carcasson.

Soon afterwards the pope's legate called a council at Montpellier, for renewing the military operations

against the Albigenses, and for doing proper honour to earl Simon, who was present ; for the Arragonese, not taking advantage of their victory, had neglected to block up Carcasson, by which omission Simon had an opportunity of repairing to Montpellier. On meeting the council, the legate, in the pope's name, paid many compliments to Simon, and declared that he should be prince of all the countries that might in future be taken from the Albigenses : at the same time, by order of the pontiff, he styled him "the active and dexterous soldier of Jesus Christ, and the invincible defender of the Catholic faith." But just as the earl was about to return thanks for these great honours and fine encomiums, a messenger brought word that the people, having heard earl Simon was in the council, had taken up arms, and were coming thither to destroy him as a common disturber. This intelligence threw the whole council into great confusion ; and earl Simon, though a minute before styled an *invincible* defender of the faith, jumped out of the window, and stole away from the city.

Council of Lateran.

The disputes becoming serious, according to the opinion of the papists, the pope himself soon after called a council, to be held at Lateran, in which great powers were granted to Roman Catholic inquisitors, and many Albigenses were immediately put to death. This council of Lateran likewise confirmed to earl Simon all the honours intended him by the council of Montpellier, and empowered him to raise another army against the Albigenses. Earl Simon immediately repaired to court, received his investiture from the French king, and began to levy forces. Having now a considerable number of troops, he determined, if possible, to exterminate the Albigenses, when he received advice that his countess was besieged in Narbonne by the earl of Toulouse. He proceeded to the relief of his wife, when the Albigenses met

him, gave him battle, and defeated him ; but he found means to escape and get into the castle of Narbonne.

Recovery of Toulouse by the Albigenes.

After this, Toulouse was recovered by the Albigenes ; but the pope espousing earl Simon's cause, raised forces for him, and enabled him once more to undertake the siege of that city. The earl assaulted the place furiously, but being repulsed with great loss, he seemed sunk in affliction : when the pope's legate said, to comfort him, " Fear nothing, my lord ; make another vigorous attack ; let us by any means recover the city, and destroy the inhabitants ; and those of our men who are slain in the fight, I will assure you shall immediately pass into paradise." One of the earl's principal officers, on hearing this, said, with a sneer, " Monsieur Cardinal, you talk with great assurance ; but if the earl believes you, he will, as heretofore, pay dearly for his confidence." Earl Simon, however, took the legate's advice, made another assault, and was again repulsed. To complete his misfortune, before the troops could recover from their confusion, the earl of Foix made his appearance, at the head of a formidable body of forces, attacked the already dispirited army of earl Simon, and easily put them to the route ; when the earl himself narrowly escaped drowning in the Garonne, into which he had hastily plunged, in order to avoid being captured. This miscarriage almost broke his heart ; but the pope's legate continued to encourage him, and offered to raise another army, which promise, with some difficulty, and three years' delay, he at length performed, and that bigoted nobleman was once more enabled to take the field. On this occasion he turned his whole force against Toulouse, which he besieged for the space of nine months, when in one of the sallies made by the besieged, his horse was wounded. The animal, being in great anguish, ran away with him, and bore him directly under the ramparts

of the city, when an archer shot him in the thigh with an arrow ; and a woman immediately after throwing a large stone from the wall, it struck him upon the head, and killed him ; thus were the Albigenses, like the Israelites, delivered by the hand of a woman ; and thus this atrocious monster, who had so long persecuted the people of God, was at length himself slain by one of those whom he had intended to have slaughtered if he had been successful. The siege was raised ; but the legate, enraged to be disappointed of his vengeance on the inhabitants, engaged the king of France in the cause, who sent his son to besiege it. The French prince, with some chosen troops, furiously assaulted Toulouse ; but meeting with a severe repulse, he abandoned that city to besiege Miromand. This place he soon took by storm, and put to the sword all the inhabitants, consisting of 5000 men, women, and children.

The bloodthirsty legate, whose name was Betrand, being very old, grew weary of following the army ; but his passion for murder still remained, as appears by his epistle to the pope, in which he begs to be recalled on account of age and infirmities ; but entreats the pontiff to appoint a successor, who might carry on the war, as he had done, with spirit and perseverance. In consequence, the pope recalled Betrand, and appointed Conrade, bishop of Portua, to be legate in his room. The latter determined to follow the steps of his predecessor, and to persecute the Albigenses with the greatest severity. Guido, earl of Montfort, the son and heir of earl Simon, undertook the command of the troops, and immediately laid siege to Toulouse, before the walls of which he was killed. His brother Almeric succeeded to the command, but the bravery of the garrison soon obliged him to raise the siege. On this the legate prevailed upon the king of France to undertake the siege of Toulouse in person, and reduce to the obedience of the church those obstinate heretics, as he

called the brave Albigenses. The earl of Toulouse, hearing of the great preparations made by the king of France, sent the women, children, cattle, &c. into secret and secure places in the mountains, ploughed up the land, that the king's forces should not obtain any forage, and did all that a skilful general could perform to distress the enemy. By these wise regulations the French army, soon after entering the earldom of Toulouse, suffered all the extremities of famine, which obliged the troops to feed on the carcasses of horses, dogs, cats, &c., which unwholesome food produced the plague. The king died of grief; but his son, who succeeded him, determined to carry on the war; he was, however, defeated in three engagements, by the earl of Toulouse. The king, the queen-mother, and three archbishops again raised a formidable army, and had the art to persuade the earl of Toulouse to come to a conference, when he was treacherously seized upon, made a prisoner, forced to appear barefooted and bareheaded before his enemies, and compelled to subscribe the following ignominious conditions: 1. That he should abjure the faith that he had hitherto defended. 2. That he should be subject to the church of Rome. 3. That he should give his daughter Joan in marriage to one of the brothers of the king of France. 4. That he should maintain in Toulouse six popish professors of the liberal arts, and two grammarians. 5. That he should take upon him the cross, and serve five years against the Saracens in the Holy Land. 6. That he should level the walls of Toulouse with the ground. 7. That he should destroy the walls and fortifications of thirty of his other cities and castles, as the legate should direct. 8. That he should remain prisoner at Paris till his daughter was delivered to the king's commissioners. After these cruel conditions a severe persecution took place against the Albigenses, many of whom suffered for the faith; and express orders were issued that *the laity should not be permitted to read the sacred writings!*

SECTION IV.

PERSECUTIONS IN FRANCE, PREVIOUS TO AND DURING THE CIVIL WARS OF THAT NATION.

In the year 1524, at a town in France called Melden, one John Clark affixed a bill on the church door, in which he called the pope Antichrist: for this offence he was repeatedly whipped, and then branded in the forehead. His mother, who saw the chastisement, cried with a loud voice, "Blessed be Christ, and welcome these marks for his sake." He went afterwards to Metz, in Lorraine, and demolished some images, for which he had his right hand and nose cut off, and his arms and breast torn by pincers: while suffering these cruelties he sang the 115th psalm, which expressly forbids superstition. On concluding the psalm, he was thrown into the fire and burnt to ashes.

About the same time several persons of the reformed persuasion were beaten, racked, scourged, and burnt to death, in several parts of France; but particularly at Paris, Limosin, and Malda.

A native of Malda was burnt by a slow fire for saying that mass was a plain denial of the death and passion of Christ. At Limosin John de Cadurco, a clergyman of the reformed religion, was apprehended, degraded, and ordered to be burnt. When under examination, a friar undertook to preach a sermon upon the occasion; when opening the New Testament he pitched upon his text, in the first epistle of St. Paul to Timothy, chap. iv. verse 1.—"Now the spirit speaketh expressly, that in the latter times some shall depart from the faith, giving heed to seducing spirits, and doctrines of devils." The friar began to expound this verse in favour of the Roman Catholic persuasion, and in condemnation of the reformed religion, when John de Cadurco begged that before he proceeded in his sermon he would

read the two verses which followed his text :—the friar again opened the Testament, but on casting his eye on the passage, he appeared confounded. Cadurco then desired that the book might be handed to him ; this request being complied with, he read thus : “ Speaking lies in hypocrisy, having their conscience seared with a hot iron, forbidding to marry, and commanding to abstain from meats, which God hath created to be received with thanksgiving of them which believe and know the truth.” The Roman Catholics, irritated at this exposure, condemned him to the flames.

At Paris, Alexander Kanus, a clergyman, was burnt in a slow fire ; and four men were committed to the flames for distributing papers which ridiculed the saying of mass. One had his tongue bored through for ridiculing the Romish superstitions. Peter Gaudet, a Genoese, was burnt on the accusation of his own uncle, a bigoted Roman Catholic ; and John Pointer, a surgeon, had his tongue cut out, and was then burnt.

Martyrdom at Arras, &c.

At Arras, Fontanis, and Rutiers, many were martyred for being of the reformed religion ; at the latter place, in particular, one Stephen Brune was condemned to be burnt for refusing to attend mass. When the fire was kindled, the flames were driven from him by a brisk wind, which occasioned the executioner to heap more fagots around him, and pour oil on them. Still, however, the wind blew the flames in a contrary direction, when the executioner was absurdly enraged with Brune, and struck him on the head ; but Brune very calmly said, “ As I am condemned only to be burnt, why do you strike me like a dog ? ” This expression so greatly enraged the executioner, that he ran him through with a pike, and then burnt the lifeless body.

Aymond de Lavoy, a minister of Bourdeaux, had a complaint lodged against him by the Romish clergy of that city. His friends advised him to abscond, but he refused. He remained nine months in prison. Being then brought to trial, he was ordered to be racked; and when in the extremity of torture, he comforted himself with this expression: "This body must once die, but the soul shall live; for the kingdom of God endureth for ever." At length he swooned; but on recovering, he prayed for his persecutors. The question was then put to him, whether he would embrace the Roman Catholic persuasion; which positively refusing, he was condemned to be burnt. At the place of execution he said, "O Lord, make haste to help me; tarry not; despise not the work of thy hands." And perceiving some who used to attend his sermons, he addressed them thus: "My friends, I exhort you to study and learn the gospel; for the word of God abideth for ever:—labour to know the will of God, and fear not them that kill the body, but have no power over the soul." The executioner then strangled him, and burnt his body afterwards.

Francis Bribard, secretary to cardinal de Bellay, for speaking in favour of the reformed, had his tongue cut out and was burnt, A. D. 1544. James Cobard, a schoolmaster in the city of St. Michael, was burnt, A. D. 1545, for saying the mass was useless and absurd; and about the same time, fourteen men were burnt at Malda, their wives being compelled to behold their martyrdom.

Peter Chapot brought a number of Bibles in the French tongue to France, and publicly sold them there in the year 1546, for which he was condemned to be burnt; as, soon after, were a cripple of Meaux, a schoolmaster of Fera, named Stephen Polliot, and a man named John English.

BOOK V.

Historical account of the Inquisition in Spain, Portugal, Italy, &c.

SECTION. I.

ORIGIN, PROGRESS, AND CRUELITIES OF THE INQUISITION.

When the reformed religion began to diffuse the pure light of the gospel throughout Europe, the bigoted Roman Catholics, fearing the exposure of the frauds and abuses of their church, determined to leave nothing unattempted to crush the Reformation in its infancy; Pope Innocent III. therefore instituted a number of *inquisitors*, or persons who were to make inquiry after, apprehend, and punish the professors of the reformed faith. At the head of these inquisitors was one Dominic, who was canonized by the pope, in order to render his authority the more respectable. He and the other inquisitors visited the various Roman Catholic countries, and treated the protestants with the utmost severity: but at length the pope, not finding them so useful as he had expected, resolved upon the establishment of fixed and regular courts of inquisition; the first office of which was established in the city of Toulouse, and Dominic became the first inquisitor.

Courts of inquisition were also erected in several other countries; but the Spanish inquisition became the most powerful, and the most dreadful of any. Even the kings of Spain themselves, though arbitrary in all other respects, were taught to dread its power; and the horrid cruelties exercised by the inquisition, compelled multitudes, who differed in opinion from the Catholics, carefully to conceal their sentiments. The Dominicans and Franciscans were the most zealous of all the monks: these, therefore, the pope invested with an exclusive right of presiding over and managing the different courts of inqui-

sition. The friars of those two orders were always selected from the very dregs of the people, and therefore were not much troubled with scruples of conscience ; they were obliged, by the rules of their respective orders, to lead very austere lives, which rendered their manners unsocial, and better qualified them for their barbarous employment.

The pope gave the inquisitors the most unlimited powers, as judges delegated by him, and immediately representing his person : they were permitted to excommunicate, or sentence to death, whom they thought proper, upon the slightest information of heresy ; were allowed to publish crusades against all whom they deemed heretics, and enter into leagues with sovereign princes, to join those crusades with their forces. About the year 1244, their power was further increased by the emperor Frederic the Second, who declared himself the protector and friend of all inquisitors, and published two cruel edicts, viz. : that all heretics, who continued obstinate, should be burnt ; and that all who repented should be imprisoned for life. This zeal in the emperor for the inquisitors, and the Roman Catholic persuasion, arose from a report which had been propagated throughout Europe, that he intended to turn Mahometan ; the emperor, therefore, judiciously determined, by the height of bigotry and cruelty, to show his attachment to *popery*.

The officers of the inquisition are, three inquisitors or judges, a proctor fiscal, two secretaries, a magistrate, a messenger, a receiver, a jailer, an agent of confiscated possessions, and several assessors, counsellors, executioners, physicians, surgeons, door-keepers, familiars, and visiters, who are all sworn to profound secrecy. The chief accusation against those who are subject to this tribunal is heresy, which comprises all that is spoken or written against any of the articles of the creed, or the tradition of the Romish church. The other articles of accusation

are, renouncing the Roman Catholic persuasion, and believing that persons of any other religion may be saved, or even admitting that the tenets of any but papists are in the least reasonable. There are two other things which incur the most severe punishments, viz. to disapprove of any action done by the inquisition, or disbelieve any thing said by an inquisitor.

Heresy comprises many subdivisions; and upon a suspicion of any of these, the party is immediately apprehended. Advancing an offensive proposition; failing to impeach others who may advance such; contemning church ceremonies; defacing idols; reading books condemned by the inquisition; lending such books to others to read; deviating from the ordinary practices of the Romish church; letting a year pass without going to confession; eating meat on fast days; neglecting mass; being present at a sermon preached by a heretic; not appearing when summoned by the inquisition; lodging in the house of, contracting a friendship with, or making a present to a heretic; assisting a heretic to escape from confinement, or visiting one in confinement, are all matters of suspicion, and prosecuted accordingly. All Roman Catholics are commanded, under pain of excommunication, to give immediate information, even of their nearest and dearest friends, if they judge them to be heretics, or inclining to heresy. All who give the least assistance to protestants are called fautors, or abettors of heresy, and the accusations against these are for comforting such as the inquisition have begun to prosecute; assisting or not informing against such, if they should happen to escape; concealing, abetting, advising, or furnishing heretics with money; visiting, or writing to, or sending them subsistence; secreting, or burning books and papers which might serve to convict them. The inquisition also takes cognizance of such as are accused of being magicians, witches, blasphemers,

soothsayers, wizards, common swearers ; and of such who read, or even possess the Bible in the vulgar tongues, the Talmud of the Jews, or the Alcoran of the Mahometans.

Upon all occasions the inquisitors carry on their processes with the utmost severity. They seldom show mercy to a Protestant ; and a Jew who turns Christian, is far from being secure ; for if he is known to keep company with another new converted Jew a suspicion arises that they privately practise together some Jewish ceremonies ; if he keep company with a person who was lately a Protestant, but now professes Popery, they are accused of plotting together ; but if he associate with a Roman Catholic, an accusation is often laid against him for only pretending to be a papist, and the consequence is a confiscation of his effects, and the loss of his life if he complain.

A defence is of little use to the prisoner ; for a suspicion only is deemed sufficient cause of condemnation, and the greater his wealth the greater his danger. Most of the inquisitors' cruelties are owing to their rapacity ; they destroy life to possess the property ; and under pretence of zeal, plunder individuals of their rights. A prisoner of the inquisitors is never allowed to see the face of his accuser, or any of the witnesses against him, but every method is taken, by threats and tortures, to oblige him to accuse himself. If the jurisdiction of the inquisition be not fully allowed, vengeance is denounced against such as call it in question ; or if any of its officers are opposed, those who oppose them are almost certain to be sufferers for their temerity ; the maxim of the inquisition being to strike terror, and awe those who are objects of its power, into obedience. High birth, distinguished rank, or eminent employments, are no protection from its severities ; and its lowest officers can make the most exalted noblemen tremble at their authority.

Such are the circumstances which subject a person to the rage of the inquisition ; and the modes of beginning the process are, 1. to proceed by imputation, or prosecute on common report ; 2. by the information of any indifferent person who chooses to impeach another ; 3. on the information of spies who are retained by the inquisition ; and 4. on the confession of the prisoner himself.

The inquisitors never forget or forgive ; length of time cannot efface their resentments ; nor can the humblest concessions, or most liberal presents, obtain a pardon : they carry the desire of revenge to the grave, and wish to have both the property and lives of those who have offended them. Hence, when a person once accused to the inquisition, after escaping, is retaken, pardon is next to an impossibility. If a positive accusation be given, the inquisitors direct an order to the executioner, who takes a certain number of familiars with him to assist in the execution. Father, son, brother, sister, husband, or wife, must quietly submit ; none dare resist or even speak ; as either would subject them to the same punishment as the devoted victim. No respite is allowed, but the prisoner is instantaneously hurried away :

This dreadful engine of tyranny may at any time be introduced into a country where the Catholics have the upper hand ; and hence, how careful ought we to be, who are not cursed with such an arbitrary court, to prevent its introduction ! In treating of this subject, an elegant author pathetically says, " How horrid a scene of perfidy and inhumanity ! What kind of community must that be, whence gratitude, love, and mutual forbearance with regard to human frailties are banished ! What must that tribunal be, which obliges parents not only to erase from their minds the remembrance of their own children, to extinguish all those keen sensations of tenderness and affection wherewith nature inspires them, but even to extend their inhumanity so far as to force

them to commence their accusers, and consequently to become the cause of the cruelties inflicted upon them! What ideas ought we to form to ourselves of a tribunal which obliges children not only to stifle every soft impulse of gratitude, love, and respect, due to those who gave them birth, but even forces them, and that under the most rigorous penalties, to be spies over their parents, and to discover to a set of merciless inquisitors the crimes, the errors, and even the little lapses to which they are exposed by human frailty! In a word, a tribunal which will not permit relations, when imprisoned in its horrid dungeons, to give each other the succours, or perform the duties which religion enjoins, must be of an infernal nature. What disorder and confusion must such conduct give rise to, in a tenderly affectionate family! An impression, innocent in itself, and, perhaps, but too true, shall, from an indiscreet zeal, or panic of fear, give infinite uneasiness to a family; shall ruin its peace entirely, and perhaps cause one or more of its members to be the unhappy victims of the most barbarous of all tribunals. What distractions must necessarily break forth in a house where the husband and wife are at variance, or the children loose and wicked! Will such children scruple to sacrifice a father, who endeavours to restrain them by his exhortations, by reproofs, or paternal corrections? Will they not rather, after plundering his house to support their extravagance and riot, readily deliver up their unhappy parent to all the horrors of a tribunal founded on the blackest injustice? A riotous husband, or a loose wife, has an easy opportunity, assisted by means of the persecution in question, to rid themselves of one who is a check to their vices, by delivering him or her up to the rigours of the inquisition."

When the inquisitors have taken umbrage against an innocent person, all expedients are used to facilitate his condemnation; false oaths and testimonies

are employed to prove the accused to be guilty ; and all laws and institutions are sacrificed to the bigoted revenge of papacy.

When a person accused is taken, his treatment is deplorable. The jailers first begin by searching him for books and papers which might tend to his conviction, and for instruments which might be employed in self-murder or escape, and on this pretext they even rob him of his wearing apparel. When he has been searched and robbed, he is committed to prison. Innocence, on such an occasion, is a weak reed ; nothing being easier than to ruin an innocent person.

The mildest sentence is imprisonment for life ; yet the inquisitors proceed by degrees, at once subtle, slow, and cruel. The jailer first of all insinuates himself into the prisoner's favour, by pretending to wish him well, and advise him well ; and among other pretended kind hints, tells him to petition for an audit. When he is brought before the consistory, the first demand is, "What is your request ?" To this the prisoner very naturally answers, that he would have a hearing. Hereupon one of the inquisitors replies, "Your hearing is this ; confess the truth, conceal nothing, and rely on our mercy." Now, if the prisoner make a confession of any trifling affair, they immediately found an indictment on it ; if he is mute, they shut him up without light, or any food but a scanty allowance of bread and water, till his obstinacy is overcome ; and if he declare he is innocent, they torment him till he either die with the pain, or confess himself guilty.

On the re-examinations of such as confess, they continually say, "You have not been sincere, you tell not all ; you keep many things concealed, and therefore must be remanded to your dungeon." When those who have stood mute are called for re-examination, if they continue silent, such tortures are ordered as will either make them speak, or kill them ; and when those who proclaim their innocence are

re-examined, a crucifix is held before them, and they are solemnly exhorted to take an oath of their confession of faith. This brings them to the test ; they must either swear they are Roman Catholics, or acknowledge they are not. If they acknowledge they are not, they are proceeded against as heretics. If they acknowledge they are Roman Catholics, a string of accusations is brought against them, to which they are obliged to answer extempore ; no time being given even to arrange their answers. On having verbally answered, pen, ink, and paper are given them, in order to produce a written answer, which must in every degree coincide with the verbal answer. If the verbal and written answers differ, the prisoners are charged with prevarication ; if one contain more than the other, they are accused of wishing to conceal circumstances ; if they both agree, they are charged with premeditated artifice.

After a person impeached is condemned, he is either severely whipped, violently tortured, sent to the galleys, or sentenced to death ; and in either case his effects are confiscated. After judgment, a procession is formed to the place of execution, which ceremony is called an *Auto da Fe*, or Act of Faith.

Auto da Fe at Madrid.

The following is an account of an *Auto da Fe* at Madrid, in the year 1682.

The officers of the inquisition, preceded by trumpets, kettle-drums, and their banner, marched on the 20th of May, in cavalcade, to the place of the great square, where they declared by proclamation, that on the 30th of June the sentence of the prisoners would be put in execution. There had not been a spectacle of this kind at Madrid for several years, for which reason it was expected by the inhabitants with as much impatience as a day of the greatest festivity and triumph.

When the day appointed arrived, a prodigious number of people appeared, dressed as splendidly as their circumstances would allow. In the great square was raised a high scaffold ; and thither, from seven in the morning till the evening, were brought criminals of both sexes ; all the inquisitions in the kingdom sending their prisoners to Madrid. Twenty men and women of these prisoners, with one renegade Mahometan, were ordered to be burnt ; fifty Jews and Jewesses, having never before been imprisoned, and repenting of their crime, were sentenced to a long confinement, and to wear a yellow cap ; and ten others, indicted for bigamy, witchcraft, and other crimes, were sentenced to be whipped, and then sent to the galleys : these last wore large pasteboard caps, with inscriptions on them, having a halter about their necks, and torches in their hands.

On this solemn occasion the whole court of Spain was present. The grand inquisitor's chair was placed in a sort of tribunal far above that of the king. The nobles here acted the part of the sheriff's officers in England, leading such criminals as were to be burned, and holding them when fast bound with thick cords : the rest of the criminals were conducted by the familiars of the inquisition.

Among those who were to suffer, was a young Jewess of exquisite beauty, only seventeen years of age. Being on the same side of the scaffold where the queen was seated, she addressed her, in hopes of obtaining a pardon, in the following pathetic speech: "Great queen! will not your royal presence be of some service to me in my miserable condition? Have regard to my youth; and, oh! consider that I am about to die for professing a religion imbibed from my earliest infancy!" Her majesty seemed greatly to pity her distress, but turned away her eyes, as she did not dare to speak a word in behalf of a person who had been declared a heretic by the inquisition.

Mass now began, in the midst of which the priest came from the altar, placed near the scaffold, and seated himself in a chair prepared for that purpose. Then the chief inquisitor descended from the amphitheatre, dressed in his cope, and having a mitre on his head. After bowing to the altar, he advanced towards the king's balcony, and went up to it, attended by some of his officers, carrying a cross and the gospels, with a book containing the oath by which the kings of Spain oblige themselves to protect the Catholic faith, to extirpate heretics, and support, with all their power, the prosecutions and decrees of the inquisition. On the approach of the inquisitor, and on his presenting this book to the king, his majesty rose up bareheaded, and swore to maintain the oath, which was read to him by one of his counsellors: after which the king continued standing till the inquisitor had returned to his place; when the secretary of the holy office mounted a sort of pulpit, and administered a like oath to the counsellors and the whole assembly. The mass was begun about twelve at noon, and did not end till nine in the evening, being protracted by a proclamation of the sentences of the several criminals, which were all separately rehearsed aloud one after the other. Next followed the burning of the twenty-one men and vo-

men, whose intrepidity in suffering that horrid death was truly astonishing; some thrust their hands and feet into the flames with the most dauntless fortitude; and all of them yielded to their fate with such resolution, that many of the amazed spectators lamented that such heroic souls *had not been more enlightened!* The situation of the king was so near to the criminals, that their dying groans were very audible to him: he could not, however, be absent from this dreadful scene, as it is esteemed a religious one; and his coronation oath obliges him to give sanction by his presence to all the acts of the tribunal.

Another Auto da Fe.

Another Auto da Fe is thus described by Dr. Geddes: "At the place of execution there are so many stakes set as there are prisoners to be burned, a large quantity of dry furze being set about them. The stakes of the protestants, or, as the inquisitors call them, the professed, are about four yards high, and have each a small board, whereon the prisoner is seated within half a yard of the top. The professed then go up a ladder betwixt two priests, who attend the whole day of execution. When they come even with the fore-mentioned board, they turn about to the people, and the priests spend near a quarter of an hour in exhorting them to be reconciled to the see of Rome. On their refusing, the priests come down, and the executioner ascends, turns the professed from off the ladder upon the seat, chains their bodies close to the stakes, and leaves them. Then the priests go up a second time to renew their exhortations, and if they find them ineffectual, usually tell them, at parting, that they leave them to the devil, who is standing at their elbow ready to receive their souls, and carry them with him into the flames of hell-fire, as soon as they are out of their bodies.

"A general shout is then raised, and when the priests get off the ladder, the universal cry is, 'Let

the dogs' beards be made,' which implies, singe their beards; this is accordingly performed by means of flaming furzes thrust against their faces with long poles. This barbarity is repeated till their faces are burnt, and is accompanied with loud acclamations. Fire is then set to the furzes, and the criminals are consumed."

Inquisition of Portugal.

The inquisition of Portugal is exactly upon a similar plan to that of Spain, having been instituted about the same time, and put under the same regulations, and the proceedings nearly resemble each other. The house, or rather palace, of the inquisition, is a noble edifice. It contains four courts, each about forty feet square, round which are about 300 dungeons or cells. The dungeons on the ground-floor are for the lowest class of prisoners, and those on the second floor are for persons of superior rank. The galleries are built of free stone, and hid from view, both within and without, by a double wall of about fifty feet high. So extensive is the whole prison, which contains so many turnings and windings, that none but those well acquainted with it can find the way through its various avenues. The apartments of the chief inquisitor are spacious and elegant; the entrance is through a large gate, which leads into a court-yard, round which are several chambers, and some large saloons for the king, royal family, and the rest of the court, to stand and observe the executions during an Auto da Fe.

A testoon (seven-pence half-penny English money) is allowed to every prisoner daily; and the principal jailer, accompanied by two other officers, monthly visits every prisoner, to inquire how he would have his allowance laid out. This visit, however, is only a matter of form, for the jailer usually lays out the money as he pleases, and commonly allows the prisoner daily a porringer of broth, half a pound of

beef, a small piece of bread, and a trifling portion of cheese.

Sentinels walk about continually to listen ; if the least noise is heard, they call to and threaten the prisoner ; if the noise is repeated, a severe beating ensues. The following is a fact : a prisoner having a violent cough, one of the guards came and ordered him not to make a noise ; to which he replied that it was not in his power to forbear. The cough increasing, the guard went into the cell, stripped the poor creature naked, and beat him so unmercifully that he soon after died.

Sometimes a prisoner passes months without knowing of what he is accused, or having the least idea of when he is to be tried. The jailer at length informs him that he must petition for a trial. This ceremony being gone through, he is taken for examination. When they come to the door of the tribunal, the jailer knocks three times, to give the judges notice of their approach. A bell is rung by one of the judges, when an attendant opens the door, admits the prisoner, and seats him on a stool.

The prisoner is then ordered by the president to kneel down, and lay his right hand upon a book, which is presented to him close shut. This being complied with, the following question is put to him : " Will you promise to conceal the secrets of the holy office, and to speak the truth ? " Should he answer in the negative, he is remanded to his cell, and cruelly treated. If he answer in the affirmative, he is ordered to be again seated, and the examination proceeds ; when the president asks a variety of questions, and the clerk minutes both them and the answers.

When the examination is closed, the bell is again rung, the jailer appears, and the prisoner is ordered to withdraw, with this exhortation : " Tax your memory, recollect all the sins you have ever committed, and when you are again brought here, communicate

them to the holy office." The jailers and attendants, when apprized that the prisoner has made an ingenuous confession, and readily answered every question, make him a low bow, and treat him with an affected kindness, as a reward for his candour.

He is brought in a few days to a second examination, with the same formalities as before. The inquisitors often deceive prisoners by promising the greatest lenity, and even to restore their liberty, if they will accuse themselves; the unhappy persons, who are in their power, frequently fall into this snare, and are sacrificed to their own simplicity. Instances have occurred of some, who, relying on the faith of their judges, have accused themselves of what they were totally innocent of, in expectation of obtaining their liberty; and thus became martyrs to their own folly.

There is another artifice made use of by the inquisitors: if a prisoner has too much resolution to accuse himself, and too much sense to be ensnared by their sophistry, they proceed thus: a copy of an indictment against the prisoner is given him, in which, among many trivial accusations, he is charged with the most enormous crimes of which human nature is capable. This rouses his temper, and he exclaims against such falsehoods. He is then asked which of the crimes he can deny. He naturally mentions the most atrocious, and begins to express his abhorrence of them, when the indictment being snatched out of his hand, the president says, "By your denying only those crimes which you mention, you implicitly confess the rest, and we shall therefore proceed accordingly." Sometimes they make a ridiculous affectation of equity, by pretending that the prisoner may be indulged with a counsellor, if he chooses to demand one. Such a request is sometimes made, and a counsellor appointed; but upon these occasions, as the trial is a mockery of justice, so the counsellor is a mere cipher: for he is not

permitted to say any thing that might offend the inquisition, or to advance a syllable that might benefit the prisoner.

Though the inquisitors allow the torture to be used only three times, yet at those three it is so severely inflicted, that the prisoner either dies under it, or continues always after a cripple. The following is a description of the severe torments occasioned by the torture, from the account of one who suffered it the three respective times, but happily survived its cruelties.

First time of torturing.

The prisoner, on refusing to comply with the iniquitous demands of the inquisitors, by confessing all the crimes they charged him with, was immediately conveyed to the torture room, which, to prevent the cries of the sufferers from being heard by the other prisoners, is lined with a kind of quilting, which covers all the crevices, and deadens the sound. The prisoner's horror was extreme on entering this infernal place, when suddenly he was surrounded by six wretches, who, after preparing the tortures, stripped him naked to his drawers. He was then laid upon his back on a kind of stand, elevated a few feet from the floor. They began by putting an iron collar round his neck, and a ring to each foot, which fastened him to the stand. His limbs being thus stretched out, they then wound two ropes round each arm, and two round each thigh; which ropes being passed under the scaffold, through holes made for that purpose, were all drawn tight at the same instant of time by four of the men, on a given signal. The pains which immediately succeeded were intolerable; the ropes, which were of the small size, cut through the prisoner's flesh to the bone, making the blood gush out at eight different places. As he persisted in not making any confession of what the inquisitors required, the ropes were drawn in this manner four times successively.

A physician and surgeon attended, and often felt his temples, in order to judge of the danger he might be in ; by which means his tortures were for a small time suspended, that he might have sufficient opportunity of recovering his spirits to sustain each ensuing torture. During this extremity of anguish, while the tender frame is being torn, as it were, in pieces, while at every pore it feels the sharpest pangs of death, and the agonized soul is just ready to burst forth, and quit its wretched mansion, the ministers of the inquisition have the obduracy to look on without emotion, and calmly to advise the poor distracted creature to confess his imputed guilt, on doing which they tell him he may obtain a free pardon, and receive absolution. All this, however, was ineffectual with the prisoner, whose mind was strengthened by a sweet consciousness of innocence, and the divine consolation of religion.

While he was thus suffering, the physician and surgeon were so barbarous as to declare, that if he died under the torture he would be guilty, by his obstinacy, of self-murder. In short, at the last time of the ropes being drawn tight, he grew so exceedingly weak, by the stoppage of the circulation of his blood, and the pains he endured, that he fainted away ; upon which he was unloosed, and carried back to his dungeon.

Second time of torturing.

These inhuman wretches, finding that the torture inflicted, as above described, instead of extorting a discovery from the prisoner, only served the more fervently to excite his supplication to heaven for patience and power to persevere in truth and integrity, were so barbarous, in six weeks after, as to expose him to another kind of torture, more severe, if possible, than the former ; the manner of inflicting which was as follows : they forced his arms backwards, so that the palms of his hands were turned outward be-

hind him ; when, by means of a rope that fastened them together at the wrists, and which was turned by an engine, they drew them by degrees nearer to each other in such a manner that the back of each hand touched and stood exactly parallel to each other. In consequence of this violent contortion, both his shoulders were dislocated, and a considerable quantity of blood issued from his mouth. This torture was repeated thrice ; after which he was again taken to the dungeon, and delivered to the physician and surgeon, who, in setting the dislocated bones, put him to the most exquisite torment.

Third time of torturing.

About two months after the second torture, the prisoner, being a little recovered, was again ordered to the torture room, and there made to undergo another kind of punishment. The executioners fastened a thick iron chain twice round his body, which, crossing upon his stomach, terminated at the wrists. They then placed him with his back against a thick board, at each extremity whereof was a pulley, through which there run a rope that caught the ends of the chain at his wrists. Then the executioner, stretching the end of this rope, by means of a roller placed at a distance behind him, pressed or bruised his stomach in proportion as the ends of the chain were drawn tighter. They tortured him in this manner to such a degree, that his wrists, as well as his shoulders, were quite dislocated. They were, however, soon set by the surgeons ; but the barbarians, not yet satisfied with this infernal cruelty, made him immediately undergo the like torture a second time ; which he sustained (though, if possible, attended with keener pains,) with equal constancy and resolution. He was then again remanded to his dungeon, attended by the surgeon to dress his bruises and adjust the parts dislocated ; and here he continued till their Auto da Fe, or jail delivery, when he was happily discharged.

It may be judged, from the before-mentioned relation, what dreadful agony the sufferer must have endured. Most of his limbs were disjoined ; so much was he bruised and exhausted, as to be unable, for some weeks, to lift his hand to his mouth ; and his body became greatly swelled from the inflammations caused by such frequent dislocations. After his discharge he felt the effects of this cruelty for the remainder of his life, being frequently seized with thrilling and excruciating pains, to which he had never been subject, till after he had the misfortune to fall into the power of the merciless and bloody inquisition.

The unhappy females who fall into their hands, have not the least favour shown them on account of the softness of their sex, but are tortured with as much severity as the male prisoners, with the additional mortification of having the most shocking indecencies added to the most savage barbarities.

Should the above mentioned modes of torturing force a confession from the prisoner, he is remanded to his horrid dungeon, and left a prey to the melancholy of his situation, to the anguish arising from what he has suffered, and to the dreadful ideas of future barbarities. Should he refuse to confess, he is, in the same manner, remanded to his dungeon ; but a stratagem is used to draw from him what the torture fails to do. A companion is allowed to attend him, under the pretence of waiting upon, and comforting his mind till his wounds are healed : this person, who is always selected for his cunning, insinuates himself into the good graces of the prisoner, laments the anguish he feels, sympathizes with him, and taking advantage of the hasty expressions forced from him by pain, does all he can to dive into his secrets. This companion sometimes pretends to be a prisoner like himself, and imprisoned on similar charges. This is to draw the unhappy person into a mutual confidence, and persuade him, in unbosoming his grief, to betray his private sentiments.

Frequently these snares succeed, as they are the more alluring by being glossed over with the appearance of friendship and sympathy. Finally, if the prisoner cannot be found guilty, he is either tortured or harassed to death, though a few have sometimes had the good fortune to be discharged, but not without having suffered the most dreadful cruelties.

The inquisition also takes cognizance of all new books ; and tolerates or condemns with the same *justice* and *impartiality* by which all its proceedings are distinguished.

When a book is published, it is carefully read by some of the familiars ; who, too ignorant and bigoted to distinguish truth, and too malicious to relish beauties, search not for the merits, but for the defects of an author, and pursue the slips of his pen with unremitting diligence. They read with prejudice, judge with partiality, pursue errors with avidity, and strain that which is innocent into an offensive meaning. They misapply, confound, and pervert the sense : and when they have gratified the malignity of their disposition, charge their blunders upon the author, that a prosecution may be founded upon their false conceptions, and designed misrepresentations.

Any trivial charge causes the censure of a book ; but it is to be observed, that the censure is of a three-fold nature, viz. :

1. When the book is wholly condemned.
2. When it is partly condemned ; that is, when certain passages are pointed out as exceptionable, and ordered to be expunged.
3. When it is deemed incorrect ; the meaning of which is, that a few words or expressions displease the inquisitors. These, therefore, are ordered to be altered, and such alterations go under the name of corrections.

There is a catalogue of condemned books annually published under the three different heads of censures, already mentioned, which being printed on a

large sheet of paper, is hung up in the most public and conspicuous places. After which, people are obliged to destroy all such books as come under the first censure, and to keep none belonging to the other two censures, unless the exceptionable passages have been expunged, and the corrections made, as in either case disobedience would be of the most fatal consequence; for the possessing or reading the proscribed books are deemed very atrocious crimes.

The publisher of such books is usually ruined in his circumstances, and sometimes obliged to pass the remainder of his life in the inquisition.

Where such an absurd and detestable system exercises its deadening influence over the literature of a nation, can we be surprised that the grossest ignorance and the most bigoted superstition prevail? How can that people become enlightened, among whom the finest productions of genius are prohibited, all discussion prevented, the most innocent inquiries liable to misconstruction and punishment, the materials for thinking proscribed, and even *thought* itself chained down and checked by the fear of its escaping into expression, and thus bringing certain and cruel punishment on him who has dared to exercise his reason, the noblest gift of his Almighty creator. Surely every well wisher to the human race must rejoice in the downfall of this most barbarous and infernal of all tribunals.

SECTION II.

BARBARITIES EXERCISED BY THE INQUISITIONS OF
SPAIN AND PORTUGAL.

Francis Romanes, a native of Spain, was employed by the merchants of Antwerp, to transact some business for them at Bremen. He had been educated in the Romish persuasion, but going one day into a protestant church, he was struck with the truths which he heard, and beginning to perceive the errors of popery, he determined to search farther into the matter. Perusing the sacred scriptures, and the writings of some protestant divines, he perceived how erroneous were the principles which he had formerly embraced ; and renounced the impositions of popery for the doctrines of the reformed church, in which religion appeared in all its purity. Resolving to think only of his eternal salvation, he studied religious truths more than trade, and purchased books rather than merchandise, convinced that the riches of the body are trifling to those of the soul. He therefore resigned his agency to the merchants of Antwerp, giving them an account at the same time of his conversion ; and then resolving, if possible, to convert his parents, he went to Spain for that purpose. But the Antwerp merchants writing to the inquisitors, he was seized upon, imprisoned for some time, and then condemned to be burnt as a heretic. He was led to the place of execution in a garment painted over with devils, and had a paper mitre put upon his head by way of derision. As he passed by a wooden cross, one of the priests bade him kneel to it ; but he absolutely refused so to do, saying, " It is not for Christians to worship wood." Having been placed upon a pile of wood, the fire quickly reached him, whereupon he lifted up his head suddenly ; the priests, thinking he meant to recant, ordered him to be taken down. Finding, however, that they were

mistaken, and that he still retained his constancy, he was placed again upon the pile, where, as long as he had life and voice remaining, he kept repeating the seventh psalm.

Horrid treachery of an Inquisitor.

A lady, with her two daughters and her niece, were apprehended at Seville for professing the protestant religion. They were all put to the torture : and when that was over, one of the inquisitors sent for the youngest daughter, pretended to sympathize with her, and pity her sufferings ; then binding himself with a solemn oath not to betray her, he said, " If you will disclose all to me, I promise you I will procure the discharge of your mother, sister, cousin, and yourself." Made confident by his oath, and entrapped by his promises, she revealed the whole of the tenets they professed ; when the perjured wretch, instead of acting as he had sworn, immediately ordered her to be put to the rack, saying, " Now you have revealed so much, I will make you reveal more." Refusing, however, to say any thing farther, they were all ordered to be burnt, which sentence was executed at the next Auto da Fe.

The keeper of the castle of Triano, belonging to the inquisitors of Seville, happened to be of a disposition more mild and humane than is usual with persons in his situation. He gave all the indulgence he could to the prisoners, and showed them every favour in his power, with as much secrecy as possible. At length, however, the inquisitors became acquainted with his kindness, and determined to punish him severely for it, that other jailers might be deterred from showing the least traces of that compassion which ought to glow in the breast of every human being. With this view they immediately threw him into a dismal dungeon, and used him with dreadful barbarity, so that he lost his senses. His deplorable situation, however, procured him no favour ; for, fran-

tic as he was, they brought him from prison, at an Auto da Fe, to the usual place of punishment, with a sanbenito (or garment worn by criminals) on, and a rope about his neck. His sentence was then read, and ran thus: that he should be placed upon an ass, led through the city, receive 200 stripes, and then be condemned for six years to the galleys. This unhappy, frantic wretch, just as they were about to begin his punishment, suddenly sprung from the back of the ass, broke the cords that bound him, snatched a sword from one of the guards, and dangerously wounded an officer of the inquisition. Being overpowered by multitudes, he was prevented from doing further mischief, seized, bound more securely to the ass, and punished according to his sentence. But so inexorable were the inquisitors, that, for the rash effects of his madness, four years were added to his slavery in the galleys.

A young lady, named Maria de Coceicao, who resided with her brother at Lisbon, was taken up by the inquisitors, and ordered to be put to the rack. The torments she felt made her confess the charges against her. The cords were then slackened, and she was reconducted to her cell, where she remained till she had recovered the use of her limbs; she was then brought again before the tribunal, and ordered to ratify her confession. This she absolutely refused to do, telling them that what she had said was forced from her by the excessive pain she underwent. The inquisitors, incensed at this reply, ordered her again to be put to the rack, when the weakness of nature once more prevailed, and she repeated her former confession. She was immediately remanded to her cell: and being a third time brought before the inquisitors, they ordered her to sign her first and second confessions. She answered as before, but added, "I have twice given way to the frailty of the flesh, and perhaps may, while on the rack, be weak enough to do so again; but de-

pend upon it, if you torture me a hundred times, as soon as I am released from the rack I shall deny what was extorted from me by pain." The inquisitors then ordered her to be racked a third time ; and, during this last trial, she bore the torments with the utmost fortitude, and could not be persuaded to answer any of the questions put to her. As her courage and constancy increased, the inquisitors, instead of putting her to death, condemned her to a severe whipping through the public streets, and banishment for ten years.

A lady of a noble family in Seville, named Jane Bohorquia, was apprehended on the information of her sister, who had been tortured and burnt for professing the protestant religion. Being pregnant, they let her remain tolerably quiet till she was delivered, when they immediately took away the child, and put it to nurse, that it might be brought up a Roman Catholic. Soon afterwards this unfortunate lady was ordered to be racked, which was done with such severity, that she expired a week after of the wounds and bruises. Upon this occasion the inquisitors affected some remorse, and in one of the printed acts of the inquisition, which they always publish at an Auto da Fe, this young lady is thus mentioned : " Jane Bohorquia was found dead in prison ; after which, upon reviving the prosecution, the inquisitors discovered she was innocent. Be it therefore known, that no further prosecutions shall be carried on against her ; and that her effects, which were confiscated, shall be given to the heirs at law." One sentence in the above ridiculous passage wants explanation, viz., that no further prosecutions shall be carried on against her. This alludes to the absurd custom of prosecuting and burning the bones of the dead : for when a prisoner dies in the inquisition, the process continues the same as if he was living ; the bones are deposited in a chest, and if sentence of guilt is

passed, they are brought out at the next Auto da Fe ; the sentence is read against them with as much solemnity as against a living prisoner, and they are committed to the flames. In a similar manner are prosecutions carried on against prisoners who escape ; and when their persons are far beyond the reach of the inquisitors, they are burnt in effigy.

BOOK VI.

Brief relation of the horrible massacre in France, A. D. 1572.

After a long series of troubles in France, the papists, seeing nothing could be done against the protestants by open force, began to devise how they should entrap them by subtlety, and that by two ways ; first by pretending that an army was to be sent into the lower country, under the command of the admiral, prince of Navarre and Conde ; not that the king had any intention of so doing, but only with a view to ascertain what force the admiral had under him, who they were, and what were their names. The second was, a marriage suborned between the prince of Navarre and the sister of the king of France, to which were to be invited all the chief protestants. Accordingly they first began with the queen of Navarre ; she consented to come to Paris, where she was at length won over to the king's mind. Shortly after she fell sick, and died within five days, not without suspicion of poison ; but her body being opened, no sign thereof appeared. A certain apothecary, however, made his boast, that he had killed the queen with venomous odours and smells, prepared by himself.

Notwithstanding this, the marriage still proceeded. The admiral, prince of Navarre and Conde, with divers other chief states of the protestants, induced by the king's letters and many fair promises, came to Paris and were received with great solemnity. The marriage at length took place on the 18th of August, 1572, and was solemnized by the cardinal of Bourbon, upon a high stage set up on purpose without the church walls: the prince of Navarre and Conde came down, waiting for the king's sister, who was then at mass. This done, the company all went to the bishop's palace to dinner. In the evening they were conducted to the king's palace to supper. Four days after this, the admiral coming from the council table, on his way was shot at with a pistol, charged with three bullets, and wounded in both his arms; notwithstanding which he still remained in Paris, although his Vidam advised him to flee.

Soldiers were appointed in various parts of the city, to be ready at watchword, upon which they rushed out to the slaughter of the protestants, beginning with the admiral, who, being dreadfully wounded, was cast out of the window into the street, where his head being struck off, was embalmed with spices, to be sent to the pope. The savage people then cut off his arms and privy members, and drew him in that state through the streets of Paris, after which they took him to the place of execution, out of the city, and there hanged him up by the heels, exposing his mutilated body to the scorn of the populace.

The martyrdom of this virtuous man had no sooner taken place, than the armed soldiers ran about slaying all the protestants they could find within the city. This continued many days, but the greatest slaughter was in the three first days, in which were said to be murdered 10,000 men and women, old and young, of all sorts and conditions. The bodies of the dead were carried in carts and thrown into the river, which was all stained therewith; also whole

streams in various parts of the city ran with the blood of the slain. In the number that were slain of the more learned sort, were Petrus Ramus, Lambinus, Plateanus, Lomenius, Chapesius, and others.

These brutal deeds were not confined within the walls of Paris, but extended into other cities and quarters of the realm, especially to Lyons, Orleans, Toulouse, and Rouen, where the cruelties were unparalleled. Within the space of one month, thirty thousand protestants, at least, are said to have been slain, as is credibly reported by those who testify of the matter.

When intelligence of the massacre was received at Rome, the greatest rejoicings were made. The pope and cardinals went in solemn procession to the church of St. Mark, to give thanks to God. A jubilee was also published, and the ordnance fired from the castle of St. Angelo. To the person who brought the news, the cardinal of Lorraine gave 1000 crowns. Like rejoicings were also made all over France for this imagined overthrow of the faithful.

The following are among the particulars recorded of the above enormities.

The admiral, on being wounded in both his arms, said to Maure, preacher to the queen of Navarre, "O my brother, I now perceive that I am beloved of my God, seeing that for his most holy name's sake I do suffer these wounds." He was slain by Bemjus, who afterwards reported that he never saw man so constantly and confidently suffer death.

Many honourable men and great personages were at the same time murdered, namely, Count Rochefoucault, Telinius, the admiral's son-in-law; Antonius Claromontus, marquis of Ravely, Lewis Bussius, Bandineus, Pleuvialius, Bernius, &c.

Francis Nompars Caumontius, being in bed with his two sons, was slain with one of them: the other was strangely preserved, and afterwards came to great dignity. Stephen Cevaleric Prime, chief trea-

surer to the king in Poitiers, a very good man, and careful of the commonwealth, after he had paid for his life a large sum of money, was cruelly and perfidiously murdered.

Magdalen Brissonet, an excellent woman, and learned, the widow of Ivermus, master of requests to the king, flying out of the city in poor apparel, was taken, cruelly murdered, and cast into the river.

Two thousand were murdered in one day; and the same liberty of killing and spoiling continued several days after.

At Meldis two hundred were cast into prison, and being brought out as sheep to the slaughter, were cruelly murdered. There also were twenty-five women slain.

At Orleans, a thousand men, women, and children were murdered.

The citizens of Augustobona, hearing of the massacre at Paris, shut the gates of their town, that no protestants might escape, and cast all they suspected into prison, who were afterwards brought forth and murdered.

At Lyons there were 800 men, women, and children most miserably and cruelly murdered. Three hundred were slain in the archbishop's house. The monks would not suffer their bodies to be buried.

At Toulouse 200 were murdered.

At Rouen 500 were put to death; and as Thuanus writes, "This example passed unto other cities, and from cities to towns and villages, so that it is by many published, that in all the kingdoms, above 30,000 were in these tumults divers ways destroyed."

A little before this massacre, a man, nurse, and infant, carried to be baptized, were all three murdered.

Ericamotius, a man of seventy years, and Cavagnius, were laid upon hurdles and drawn to execution: and after being in the way reviled and defied with

dirt cast upon them, they were hanged. The first might have been pardoned, if he would publicly confess that the admiral had conspired against the king, which he refused to do.

At Bourdeaux, by the instigation of a monk, named Enimund Angerius, 264 persons were cruelly murdered, of whom some were senators. This monk continually provoked the people in his sermons to this slaughter.

At Agendicum, in Maine, a cruel slaughter of the protestants was committed by the instigation of Æmarus, inquisitor of criminal causes. A rumour being spread abroad that the protestants had taken secret counsel to invade and spoil the churches, above a hundred of every estate and sex were by the enraged people killed or drowned in the river Igomna, which runs by the city.

On entering Blois, the duke of Guise (to whom the city had opened its gates) gave it up to rapine and slaughter; houses were spoiled, many protestants who remained were slain, or drowned in the river; neither were women spared, of whom some were ravished, and more murdered. From thence he went to Mere, a town two leagues from Blois, where the protestants frequently assembled at sermons; which for many days together was spoiled, many of its inhabitants killed, and Cassebonius, the pastor, drowned in the next river.

At Anjou, Albiacus, the pastor, was murdered, certain women slain, and some ravished.

John Burgeolus, president of Turin, an old man, being suspected to be a protestant, having bought with a great sum of money his life and safety, was, notwithstanding, taken and beaten cruelly with clubs and staves, and being stripped of his clothes, was brought to the bank of the river Liger, and hanged with his head downward in the water up to his breast; then his entrails were torn out, while he was yet alive, and thrown into the river, and his heart put upon a spear and carried about the city.

The town of Barre being taken by the papists, all kinds of cruelty were there used, children were cut to pieces, and their bowels and hearts being torn out, some of the barbarians, in their blind rage, gnawed them with their teeth.

At Albia of Cahors, upon the Lord's day, the 16th of December, the papists, at the ringing of a bell, broke open the houses in which the protestants were assembled, and killed all they could find; among whom was one Cuacerius, a rich merchant, whom they drew into his house, and then murdered him, with his wife and children.

In a town called Penna, 300 persons (notwithstanding their lives had been promised them) were murdered by Spaniards, who were newly come to serve the French king.

The town of None having capitulated to the papists, upon condition that the foreign soldiers should depart safe with horse and armour, leaving their ensigns, that the enemy's soldiers should not enter the town, and that no harm should be done to the inhabitants, who (if they chose) might go into the castle; after the yielding of it, the gates were set open, when, without any regard to these conditions, the soldiers rushed in, and began murdering and spoiling all around them. Men and women without distinction were killed; the streets resounded with cries and groans, and flowed with blood. Many were thrown down headlong from on high. Among others, the following monstrous act of cruelty was reported: a certain woman being drawn out of a private place, into which to avoid the rage of the soldiers she had fled with her husband, was in his sight shamefully defiled; and then being commanded to draw a sword, not knowing to what end, was forced by others, who guided her hand, to give her husband a wound, whereof he died.

Bordis, a captain under the prince of Conde, at Mirabellum, was killed, and his naked body cast into

the street, that, being unburied, the dogs might eat it. The prince of Conde being taken prisoner, and his life promised him, was shot in the neck by Montisquius, captain of the duke of Anjou's guard. Thuanus thus speaks of him : " This was the end of Lewis Bourbon, prince of Conde, of the king's blood, a man above the honour of his birth, most honourable in courage and virtue ; who in valour, constancy, wit, wisdom, experience, courtesy, eloquence, and liberality, all which virtues excelled in him, had few equals, and none, even by the confession of his enemies, superior to him.

At Orleans 100 men and women, being committed to prison, were, by the furious people, most cruelly murdered.

The enemies of truth, now glutted with slaughter, began every where to triumph in the fallacious opinion, that they were the sole lords of men's consciences ; and, truly, it might appear to human reason, that by the destruction of his people, God had abandoned the earth to the ravages of his enemy. But he had otherwise decreed, and thousands yet, who had not *bowed the knee to Baal*, were called forth to *glory and virtue*. The inhabitants of Rochelle, hearing of the cruelties committed on their brethren, resolved to defend themselves against the power of the king ; and their example was followed by various other towns, with which they entered into a confederacy, exhorting and inspiring one another in the common cause. To crush this, the king shortly after summoned the whole power of France, and the greatest of his nobility, among whom were his royal brothers ; he then invested Rochelle by sea and land, and commenced a furious siege, which, but for the immediate hand of God, must have ended in its destruction.

Seven assaults were made against the town, none of which succeeded. At one time a breach was made by the tremendous cannonade ; but through

the undaunted valour of the citizens, assisted even by their wives and daughters, the soldiers were driven back with great slaughter.

The siege lasted seven months, when the duke of Anjou being proclaimed king of Poland, he, in concert with the king of France, entered into a treaty with the people of Rochelle, which ended in a peace : conditions containing 25 articles having been drawn up by the latter, embracing many immunities both for themselves and other protestants in France, were confirmed by the king, and proclaimed with great rejoicings at Rochelle and other cities.

The year following died Charles IX. of France, the tyrant who had been so instrumental in the calamities above recorded. He was only in the 25th year of his age, and his death is remarkable and dreadful. When lying on his bed, the blood gushed from various parts of his body, and, after lingering in horrible torments during many months, he at length expired.

BOOK VII.

Farther accounts of the persecutions in various countries.

SECTION I.

PERSECUTIONS IN BOHEMIA AND GERMANY.

The severity exercised by the Roman Catholics over the reformed Bohemians, induced the latter to send two ministers and four laymen to Rome, in the year 977, to seek redress from the pope. After some delay their request was granted, and their grievances redressed. Two things in particular were permitted to them, viz. to have divine service in their own language, and to give the cup in the sacrament to the

laity. The disputes, however, soon broke out again, the succeeding popes exerting all their power to resume their tyranny over the minds of the Bohemians; and the latter, with great spirit, aiming to preserve their religious liberties.

Some zealous friends of the gospel applied to Charles, king of Bohemia, A. D. 1375, to call a council for an inquiry into the abuses that had crept into the church, and to make a thorough reformation. Charles, at a loss how to proceed, sent to the pope for advice; the latter, incensed at the affair, only replied, "Punish severely those presumptuous and profane heretics." The king, accordingly, banished every one who had been concerned in the application: and, to show his zeal for the pope, laid many additional restraints upon the reformed Christians of the country.

The martyrdom of John Huss and Jerome of Prague* greatly increased the indignation of the believers, and gave animation to their cause. These two great and pious men were condemned by order of the council of Constance, and fifty-eight of the principal Bohemian nobility interposed in their favour. Nevertheless they were burnt; and the pope, in conjunction with the council of Constance, ordered the Romish clergy everywhere to excommunicate all who adopted their opinions, or murmured at their fate. In consequence of these orders, great contentions arose between the papists and reformed Bohemians, which produced a violent persecution against the latter. At Prague it was extremely severe, till at length the reformed, driven to desperation, armed themselves, attacked the senate-house, and cast twelve of its members, with the speaker, out of the windows. The pope, hearing of this, went to Flo-

* These two great men were first brought to the light of truth by reading the doctrines of our countryman, John Wickliffe, who, like the morning star of reformation, first burst from the dark night of popish error, and illuminated the surrounding world.

rence, and publicly excommunicated the reformed Bohemians, exciting the emperor of Germany, and all other kings, princes, dukes, &c., to take up arms, in order to extirpate the whole race ; promising, by way of encouragement, full remission of all sins to the most wicked person who should kill one Bohemian protestant. The result of this was a bloody war : for several popish princes undertook the extirpation, or at least expulsion, of the proscribed people : while the Bohemians, arming themselves, prepared to repel them in the most vigorous manner. The popish army prevailing against the protestant forces at the battle of Cuttenburgh, they conveyed their prisoners to three deep mines near that town, and threw several hundreds into each, where they perished in a miserable manner.

Persecution by the Emperor Ferdinand.

The emperor Ferdinand, whose hatred to the protestants was unlimited, not thinking he had sufficiently oppressed them, instituted a high court of reformers, upon the plan of the inquisition, with this difference, that the reformers were to remove from place to place. The greater part of this court consisted of Jesuits, and from its decisions there was no appeal. Attended by a body of troops, it made the tour of Bohemia, and seldom examined or saw a prisoner ; but suffered the soldiers to murder the protestants as they pleased, and then to make report of the matter afterwards.

The first who fell a victim to their barbarity was an aged minister, whom they killed as he lay sick in bed. Next day they robbed and murdered another, and soon after shot a third, while preaching in his pulpit.

They ravished a daughter of a protestant before his face, and then tortured her father to death. They tied a minister and his wife back to back, and burnt them. Another minister they hung upon a cross-

beam, and making a fire under him, broiled him to death. A gentleman they hacked into small pieces; and they filled a young man's mouth with gunpowder, and setting fire to it, blew his head to pieces.

But their principal rage being directed against the clergy, they seized a pious protestant minister, whom they tormented daily for a month, in the following manner: they placed him amidst them, and derided and mocked him; they spit in his face, and pinched him in various parts of his body; they hunted him like a wild beast, till ready to expire with fatigue; they made him run the gauntlet, each striking him with a twig, their fists, or ropes; they scourged him with wires; they tied him up by the heels with his head downwards, till the blood started out of his nose, mouth, &c.; they hung him up by the arms till they were dislocated, and then had them set again; burning papers dipped in oil were placed between his fingers and toes; his flesh was torn with red-hot pincers; he was put to the rack; they pulled off the nails of his fingers and toes; he was bastinadoed on his feet; a slit was made in his ears and nose; they set him upon an ass, and whipped him through the town; his teeth were pulled out; boiling lead was poured upon his fingers and toes; and, lastly, a knotted cord was twisted about his forehead in such a manner as to force out his eyes. In the midst of these enormities, particular care was taken lest his wounds should mortify, and his sufferings be thus shortened, till the last day, when the forcing out of his eyes caused his death.

SECTION II.

LIFE, SUFFERINGS, AND MARTYRDOM OF JOHN HUSS.

John Huss was born in the village of Hussenitz, in Bohemia, about the year 1380. His parents gave him the best education they could bestow, and hav-

ing acquired a tolerable knowledge of the classics, at a private school, he was sent to the university of Prague, where the powers of his mind, and his diligence in study, soon rendered him conspicuous.

In 1408 he commenced bachelor of divinity, and was successively chosen pastor of the church of Bethlehem, in Prague, and dean and rector of the university. The duties of these stations he discharged with great fidelity, and became at length so conspicuous for the boldness and truth of his preaching, that he attracted the notice and raised the malignity of the pope and his creatures.

His influence in the university was very great, not only on account of his learning, eloquence, and exemplary life, but also on account of some valuable privileges he had obtained from the king in behalf of that seminary.

The English reformer, Wickliffe, had so kindled the light of reformation that it began to illumine the darkest corners of popery and ignorance. His doctrines were received in Bohemia with avidity and zeal by great numbers of people, but by none so particularly as John Huss, and his friend and fellow-martyr, Jerome of Prague.

The reformists daily increasing, the archbishop of Prague issued a decree to prevent the farther spreading of Wickliffe's writings. This, however, had an effect quite the reverse to what he expected, for it stimulated the converts to greater zeal, and at length almost the whole university united in promoting them.

Strongly attached to the doctrines of Wickliffe, Huss strenuously opposed the decree of the archbishop, who, notwithstanding, obtained a bull from the pope, authorizing him to prevent the publishing of Wickliffe's writings in his province. By virtue of this bull, he proceeded against four doctors, who had not delivered up some copies, and prohibited them to preach. Against these proceedings, Huss,

with some other members of the university, protested, and entered an appeal from the sentences of the archbishop. The pope no sooner heard of this, than he granted a commission to cardinal Colonna, to cite John Huss to appear at the court of Rome, to answer accusations laid against him, of preaching heresies. From this appearance Huss desired to be excused, and so greatly was he favoured in Bohemia, that king Winceslaus, the queen, the nobility, and the university, desired the pope to dispense with such an appearance ; as also that he would not suffer the kingdom of Bohemia to lie under the accusation of heresy, but permit them to preach the gospel with freedom in their places of worship.

Three proctors appeared for Huss before cardinal Colonna. They made an excuse for his absence, and said they were ready to answer in his behalf. But the cardinal declared him contumacious, and accordingly excommunicated him. On this the proctors appealed to the pope, who appointed four cardinals to examine the process : these commissioners confirmed the sentence of the cardinal, and extended the excommunication not only to Huss, but to all his friends and followers. Huss then appealed from this unjust sentence to a future council, but without success, and, notwithstanding so severe a decree, and an expulsion from his church in Prague, he retired to Hussenitz, his native place, where he continued to promulgate the truth, both from the pulpit and with the pen.

He here compiled a treatise, in which he maintained that reading the books of protestants could not be absolutely forbidden. He wrote in defence of Wickliffe's book on the Trinity ; and boldly declared against the vices of the pope, and cardinals, and the clergy of those corrupt times. Besides these, he wrote many other books, all of which were penned with such strength of argument as greatly facilitated the spreading of his doctrines.

In England, the persecutions against the protestants had been carried on for some time with relentless cruelty. They now extended to Germany and Bohemia, where Huss and Jerome of Prague were particularly singled out to suffer in the cause of religion.

In the month of November, 1414, a general council was assembled at Constance, in Germany, for the purpose of determining a dispute then existing between three persons who contended for the papal throne.*

John Huss was summoned to appear at this council; and to dispel any apprehensions of danger, the emperor sent him a safe conduct, giving him permission freely to come to and return from the council. On receiving this information, he told the persons who delivered it "that he desired nothing more than to purge himself publicly of the imputation of heresy; and that he esteemed himself happy in having so fair an opportunity of it, as at the council to which he was summoned to attend."

In the latter end of November he set out to Constance, accompanied by two Bohemian noblemen, who were among the most eminent of his disciples, and who followed him merely through respect and affection. He caused some placards to be fixed upon the gates of the churches of Prague, in which he declared that he went to the council to answer all allegations that might be made against him. He also declared, in all the cities through which he passed, that he was going to vindicate himself at Constance, and invited all his adversaries to be present.

* These were, John, proposed and set up by the Italians; Gregory, by the French; and Benedict, by the Spaniards. The council continued four years, in which the severest laws were enacted to crush the protestants. Pope John was deposed and obliged to fly, the most heinous crimes being proved against him; among which were, his attempt to poison his predecessor, his being a gamester, a liar, a murderer, an adulterer, and guilty of unnatural offences.

On his way he met with every mark of affection and reverence from people of all descriptions. The streets, and even the roads, were thronged with people, whom respect, rather than curiosity, had brought together. He was ushered into the towns with great acclamations; and he passed through Germany in a kind of triumph. "I thought," said he, "I had been an outcast. I now see my worst friends are in Bohemia."

On his arrival at Constance, he immediately took lodgings in a remote part of the city. Soon after, came one Stephen Paletz, who was engaged by the clergy of Prague to manage the intended prosecution against him. Paletz was afterwards joined by Michael de Cassis, on the part of the court of Rome. These two declared themselves his accusers, and drew up articles against him, which they presented to the pope, and the prelates of the council.

Notwithstanding the promise of the emperor, to give him a safe conduct to and from Constance, he regarded not his word: but, according to the maxim of the council, that "Faith is not to be kept with heretics," when it was known he was in the city, he was immediately arrested, and committed prisoner to a chamber in the palace. This breach was particularly noticed by one of Huss's friends, who urged the imperial safe-conduct; but the pope replied, *he* never granted any such thing, nor was he bound by that of the *emperor*.

While Huss was under confinement, the council acted the part of inquisitors. They condemned the doctrines of Wickliffe, and, in their impotent malice, ordered his remains to be dug up, and burnt to ashes; which orders were obeyed.

In the meantime the nobility of Bohemia and Poland used all their interest for Huss; and so far prevailed as to prevent his being condemned unheard, which had been resolved on by the commissioners appointed to try him.

Before his trial took place, his enemies employed a Franciscan friar, who might entangle him in his words, and then appear against him. This man, of great ingenuity and subtlety, came to him in the character of an idiot, and with seeming sincerity and zeal, requested to be taught his doctrines. But Huss soon discovered him, and told him that his manners wore a great semblance of simplicity ; but that his questions discovered a depth and design beyond the reach of an idiot. He afterwards found this pretended fool to be Didace, one of the deepest logicians in Lombardy.

At length, he was brought before the council, when the articles exhibited against him were read ; they were upwards of forty in number, and chiefly extracted from his writings.*

On his examination being finished, he was taken from the court, and a resolution was formed by the council, to burn him as a heretic, unless he retracted. He was then committed to a filthy prison, where, in the day-time, he was so laden with fetters on his legs, that he could hardly move ; and every night he was fastened by his hands to a ring against the walls of the prison.

He continued some days in this situation, in which time many noblemen of Bohemia interceded in his behalf. They drew up a petition for his release, which was presented to the council by several of the most illustrious nobles of Bohemia ; notwithstanding which, so many enemies had Huss in the court, that no attention was paid to it, and the persecuted reformer was compelled to bear with the punishment inflicted on him by that merciless tribunal.

Shortly after the petition was presented, four bishops and two lords were sent by the emperor to the prison, in order to prevail on Huss to make a recan-

* That the reader may form a judgment of his writings, we here give one of the articles for which he was condemned : " An evil and a wicked pope is not the successor of Peter, but of Judas."

tation. But he called God to witness that he was not conscious of having preached or written any thing against his truth, or the faith of his orthodox church. The deputies then represented the great wisdom and authority of the council: to which Huss replied, "Let them send the meanest person of that council, who can convince me by argument from the word of God, and I will submit my judgment to him." This pious answer had no effect, because he would not take the authority of the council upon trust, without the least shadow of an argument offered. The deputies, therefore, finding they could make no impression on him, departed, greatly astonished at the strength of his resolution.

On the 4th of July, he was, for the last time, brought before the council. After a long examination, he was desired to abjure, which he refused, without the least hesitation. The bishop of Lodi then preached a sermon, the text of which was, "Let the body of sin be destroyed," (concerning the destruction of heretics,) the prologue to his intended punishment. After the close of the sermon his fate was determined, his vindication rejected, and judgment pronounced. The council censured him for being obstinate and incorrigible, and ordained, "That he should be degraded from the priesthood, his books publicly burnt, and himself delivered to the secular power."

He received the sentence without the least emotion; and at the close of it he kneeled down with his eyes lifted towards heaven, and, with all the magnanimity of a primitive martyr, thus exclaimed: "May thy infinite mercy, O my God! pardon this injustice of mine enemies. Thou knowest the injustice of my accusations: how deformed with crimes I have been represented: how I have been oppressed with worthless witnesses, and a false condemnation; yet, O my God! let that mercy of thine, which no tongue can express, prevail with thee not to avenge my wrongs."

These excellent sentences were received as so many expressions of heresy, and only tended to inflame his adversaries. Accordingly, the bishops appointed by the council stripped him of his priestly garments, degraded him, and put a paper mitre on his head, on which were painted devils, with this inscription : "A ringleader of heretics."

This mockery was received by the heroic martyr with an air of unconcern, which appeared to give him dignity rather than disgrace. A serenity appeared in his looks, which indicated that his soul had cut off many stages of a tedious journey in her way to the realms of everlasting happiness.

The ceremony of degradation being over, the bishops delivered him to the emperor, who committed him to the care of the duke of Bavaria. His books were burnt at the gate of the church ; and on the 6th of July he was led to the suburbs of Constance, to be burnt alive.

When he had reached the place of execution, he fell on his knees, sung several portions of the Psalms, looked steadfastly towards heaven, and repeated, "Into thy hands, O Lord ! do I commit my spirit ; thou hast redeemed me, O most good and faithful God."

As soon as the chain was put about him at the stake, he said, with a smiling countenance, "My Lord Jesus Christ was bound with a harder chain than this, for my sake : why then should I be ashamed of this old rusty one ?"

When the fagots were piled around him, the duke of Bavaria desired him to abjure. "No," said he, "I never preached any doctrine of an evil tendency ; and what I taught with my lips I now seal with my blood." He then said to the executioner, "You are now going to burn a *goose*, (*Huss* signifying *goose* in the Bohemian language,) but in a century you will have a *swan* whom you can neither roast nor boil." If this were spoken in prophecy, he must have meant Martin Luther, who flourished about a century after, and who had a *swan* for his arms.

As soon as the fagots were lighted the heroic martyr sung a hymn, with so loud and cheerful a voice, that he was heard through all the crackling of the combustibles, and the noise of the multitude. At length his voice was interrupted by the flames, which soon put a period to his life.

SECTION IV.

GENERAL PERSECUTIONS IN GERMANY.

MARTIN LUTHER, by unmasking popery, and by the vigour with which he prosecuted his doctrines, caused the papal throne to shake to its foundation. So terrified was the pope at his rapid success, that he determined, in order to stop his career, to engage the emperor Charles V. in his scheme of utterly extirpating all who had embraced the reformation. To accomplish which, he gave the emperor 200,000 crowns; promised to maintain 12,000 foot and 5000 horse for six months, or during a campaign; allowed the emperor to receive one half of the revenues of the clergy in Germany during the war; and permitted him to pledge the abbey-lands for 500,000 crowns, to assist in carrying on hostilities. Thus prompted and supported, the emperor, with a heart eager, both from interest and prejudice for the cause, undertook the extirpation of the protestants; and for this purpose raised a formidable army in Germany, Spain, and Italy.

The protestant princes, in the mean time, were not idle; but formed a powerful confederacy, in order to repel the impending blow. A great army was raised, and the command given to the elector of Saxony, and the landgrave of Hesse. The imperial forces were commanded by the emperor in person, and all Europe waited in anxious suspense the event of the war.

At length the armies met, and a desperate engagement ensued, in which the protestants were defeated, and the elector of Saxony and landgrave of Hesse both taken prisoners. This calamitous stroke was succeeded by a persecution, in which the most horrible cruelties were inflicted on the protestants, and suffered by them with a fortitude which only religion can impart.

The persecutions in Germany having been suspended many years, again broke out in 1630, on account of a war between the emperor and the king of Sweden; the latter being a protestant prince, the protestants of Germany, in consequence, espoused his cause, which greatly exasperated the emperor against them.

The imperial army having laid siege to the town of Passewalk, (then defended by the Swedes,) took it by storm, and committed the most monstrous outrages on the occasion. They pulled down the churches, pillaged and burnt the houses, massacred the ministers, put the garrison to the sword, hanged the townsmen, ravished the women, smothered the children, &c. &c.

In 1631, a most bloody scene took place at the protestant city of Magdeburg. The generals Tilly and Pappenheim having taken it by storm, upwards of 20,000 persons, without distinction of rank, sex, or age, were slain during the carnage, and 6,000 drowned in attempting to escape over the river Elbe. After which the remaining inhabitants were stripped naked, severely scourged, had their ears cropped, and being yoked together like oxen, were turned adrift.

On the popish army's taking the town of Hoxter, all the inhabitants, with the garrison, were put to the sword.

When the imperial forces prevailed at Griphenburgh, they shut up the senators in the senate-chamber, and surrounding it by lighted straw, suffocated them.

Franhenthal, notwithstanding it surrendered upon articles of capitulation, suffered as cruelly as other places, and at Heidelberg many were shut up in prison and starved.

To enumerate the various species of cruelty practised by the imperial troops, under Count Tilly, would excite disgust and horror. That sanguinary monster, in his progress through Saxony, not only permitted every excess in his soldiers, but actually commanded them to put all their enormities in practice. Some of these are so unparalleled, that we feel ourselves obliged to mention them.

In Hesse-Cassel some of the troops entered an hospital, in which were principally mad women, when, stripping all the poor wretches naked, they made them run about the streets for their diversion, and then put them to death.

In Pomerania, some of the troops entering a small town, seized upon all the young women and girls of upwards of ten years, and then placing their parents in a circle, they ordered them to sing psalms, while they ravished their children, or else they swore they would cut them to pieces afterwards. They then took all the married women who had young children, and threatened, if they did not consent to the gratification of their lusts, to burn their children before their faces, in a large fire which they had kindled for that purpose.

SECTION V.

PERSECUTIONS IN THE NETHERLANDS.

The glorious light of the gospel spreading over every part of the continent, and chasing thence the dark night of ignorance, increased the alarm of the pope, who urged the emperor to commence a persecution against the protestants; when many thousands fell martyrs to superstitious malice and barbarous bigotry: among whom were the following.

A pious protestant widow, named Wendelinuta, was apprehended on account of her religion, when several monks unsuccessfully endeavoured to persuade her to recant. Their attempts, however, proving ineffectual, a Roman Catholic lady of her acquaintance desired to be admitted to the dungeon in which she was confined, promising to exert herself towards inducing the prisoner to abjure her religion. On being admitted to the dungeon, she did her utmost to perform the task she had undertaken : but finding her endeavours fruitless, she said, "Dear Wendelinuta, if you will not embrace our faith, at least keep the things which you profess secret within your own bosom, and strive to prolong your life." To which the widow replied, "Madam, you know not what you say ; for with the heart we believe to righteousness, but with the tongue confession is made unto salvation." Still holding her faith against every effort of the powers of darkness, her goods were confiscated, and she was condemned to be burnt. At the place of execution a monk presented a cross to her, and bade her kiss and worship God. To which she answered, "I worship no wooden god, but the eternal God, who is in heaven." She was then executed, but at the intercession of the before mentioned lady, it was granted that she should be strangled before the fagots were kindled.

At Colen, two protestant clergymen were burnt : a tradesman of Antwerp, named Nicholas, was tied up in a sack, thrown into the river, and drowned ; and Pistorius, an accomplished scholar and student, was carried to the market of a Dutch village, and burnt.

Assassination of the Prince of Orange.

Baltazar Gerard, a native of France Compte, a bigoted and furious Roman Catholic, thinking to advance his own fortune and the popish cause by one desperate act, resolved upon the assassination of the prince





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of Orange. Having provided himself with fire-arms, he watched the prince as he passed through the great hall of his palace to dinner, and demanded a passport. The princess of Orange, observing in his tone of voice and manner something confused and singular, asked who he was, saying she did not like his countenance. The prince answered, it was one that demanded a passport, which he should have presently. Nothing further transpired until after dinner, when on the return of the prince and princess through the same hall, the assassin, from behind one of the pillars, fired at the prince: the balls entering at the left side, and passing through the right, wounded in their passage the stomach and vital parts. The prince had only power to say, "Lord, have mercy upon my soul, and upon this poor people," and immediately expired.

The death of this virtuous prince, who was considered as the father of his people, spread universal sorrow throughout the United Provinces. The assassin was immediately taken, and received sentence to be put to death in the most exemplary manner; yet such was his enthusiasm and blindness for his crime, that, while suffering for it, he coolly said, "Were I at liberty, I would repeat the same."

In different parts of Flanders, numbers fell victims to popish jealousy and cruelty. In the city of Valence, in particular, fifty-seven of the principal inhabitants were butchered in one day, for refusing to embrace the Romish superstition; besides whom, great numbers suffered in confinement, till they perished.

BOOK VIII.

Persecutions of the Protestants, in various countries not before described.

SECTION I.

PERSECUTIONS IN ABYSSINIA

About the end of the fifteenth century, some Portuguese missionaries made a voyage to Abyssinia, and began to propagate the Roman Catholic doctrines among the Abyssinians, who professed Christianity before the arrival of the missionaries.

The priests gained such an influence at court, that the emperor consented to abolish the established rites of the Ethiopian church, and to admit those of Rome ; and, soon after, consented to receive a patriarch from the pope, and to acknowledge the supremacy of the latter. This innovation, however, did not take place without great opposition. Several of the most powerful lords, and a majority of the people, who professed the primitive Christianity established in Abyssinia, took up arms in their defence against the emperor. Thus, by the artifices of the court of Rome and its emissaries, the whole empire was thrown into commotion, and a war commenced, which was carried on through the reigns of many emperors, and which ceased not for above a century. All this time the Roman Catholics were strengthened by the power of the court, by means of which conjunction, the primitive Christians of Abyssinia were severely persecuted, and multitudes perished by the hands of their inhuman enemies.

Persecutions in Turkey.—Account of Mahomet.

Mahomet was born at Mecca, in Arabia, A. D. 571. His parents were poor, and his education mean ; but by the force of his genius, and an uncommon subtle

ty, he raised himself to be the founder of a widely spread religion, and the sovereign of kingdoms. His Alcoran is a jumble of paganism, Judaism, and Christianity. In composing it, he is said to have been assisted by a Jew and a Roman Catholic priest. It is adapted entirely to the sensual appetites and passions; and the chief promises held out by it to its believers, are the joys of a paradise of women and wine. Mahomet established his doctrine by the power of the sword. "The sword," says he, "is the key of heaven and of hell. Whoever falls in battle, his sins are forgiven him: his wounds shall be resplendent as vermilion, and odoriferous as musk: the loss of his limbs shall be supplied with the wings of angels." He allowed that Christ was a great prophet and a holy man; that he was born of a virgin, received up into glory, and shall come again to destroy Anti-christ.

He therefore, in his early career, affected to respect the Christians. But no sooner was his power established, than he displayed himself in his true colours, as their determined and sanguinary enemy. This he proved by his persecutions of them in his life-time, and by commanding those persecutions to be continued by his deluded followers, in his Alcoran, particularly in that part entitled, "The Chapter of the Sword." From him the Turks received their religion, which they still maintain. Mahomet and his descendants, in the space of thirty years, subdued Arabia, Palestine, Phœnicia, Syria, Egypt, and Persia. They soon, however, broke into divisions and wars amongst themselves. But the princes of the Saracens, assuming the title of Sultan, continued their rule over Syria, Egypt, and Africa, for the space of about 400 years, when the Saracen king of Persia commencing war against the Saracen sultan of Babylon, the latter brought to his aid the Turks. These Turks, feeling their own strength, in time turned their arms against their masters, and by the valour

of Othman, from whom the family who now fill the Turkish throne are descended, they soon subdued them, and established their empire.

Constantinople, after having been for many ages an imperial Christian city, was invested, in 1453, by the Turks, under Mahomet the Second,* whose army consisted of 300,000 men, and, after a siege of six weeks, it fell into the hands of the infidels, and the Turks have, to this day, retained possession of it.† They no sooner found themselves masters of it, than they began to exercise on the inhabitants the most unremitting barbarities, destroying them by every method of ingenious cruelty. Some they roasted alive on spits, others they starved, some they flayed alive, and left them in that horrid manner to perish : many were sawn asunder, and others torn to pieces by horses. Three days and nights was the city given to spoil, in which time the soldiers were licensed to commit every enormity. The body of the emperor being found among the slain, Mahomet commanded his head to be stuck on a spear, and carried round the town for the mockery of the soldiers.

Attack on Rhodes.

About the year 1521, Solyman the First took Belgrade from the Christians. Two years after, he with a fleet of 450 ships, and an army of 300,000

* He was the ninth of the Ottoman race, and subdued all Greece.

† About fifteen years before this fatal event took place, the city had yielded the liberties of its church to the pope of Rome. A manifest want of patriotism was evidenced in the inhabitants, who, instead of bringing forth their treasures to the public service and defence of the place, buried them in vast heaps ; insomuch, that when Mahomet, suspecting the case, commanded the earth to be dug up, and found immense hoards, he exclaimed, "How was it that this place lacked ammunition and fortification, amidst such abundance of riches?" The Turks found a crucifix in the great church of St. Sophia, on the head of which they wrote, "This is the God of the Christians;" and then carried it with a trumpet around the city, and exposed it to the contempt of the soldiers, who were commanded to spit upon it. Thus did the superstition of Rome afford a triumph to the enemies of the cross.

men, attacked Rhodes, then defended by the knights of Jerusalem. These heroes resisted the infidels till all their fortifications were levelled with the ground, their provisions exhausted, and their ammunition spent ; when, finding no succours from the Christian princes, they surrendered, the siege having lasted about six months, in which the Turks suffered prodigiously, no less than 30,000 of them having died by the bloody flux. After this, Solyman retook Buda from the Christians, and treated those who were found there with great cruelty. Some had their eyes put out, others their hands, noses, and ears cut off. Pregnant women were ripped open, and their fruit cast into the flames, while many children were buried up to their necks in the earth, and left to perish.

Siege of Vienna.

Mad with conquest, Solyman now proceeded westward to Vienna, glutting himself with slaughter on his march, and vainly hoping, in a short time, to lay all Europe at his feet, and to banish Christianity from the earth.

Having pitched his tent before the walls of Vienna, he sent three Christian prisoners into the town, to terrify the citizens with an account of the strength of his army, while a great many more, whom he had taken in his march, were torn asunder by horses. Happily for the Germans, three days only before the arrival of the Turks, the earl palatine Frederick, to whom was assigned the defence of Vienna, had entered the town with 14,000 chosen veterans, besides a body of horse. Solyman sent a summons for the city to surrender ; but the Germans defying him, he instantly commenced the siege. It has before been observed, that the religion of Mahomet promises to all soldiers who die in battle, whatever be their crimes, immediate admission to the joys of paradise. Hence arises that fury and temerity which they usu-

ally display in fighting. They began with a most tremendous cannonade, and made many attempts to take the city by assault. But the steady valour of the Germans was superior to the enthusiasm of their enemies. Solyman, filled with indignation at this unusual check to his fortune, determined to exert every power to carry his project; to this end he planted his ordnance before the king's gate, and battered it with such violence, that a breach was soon made; whereupon the Turks, under cover of the smoke, poured in torrents into the city, and the soldiers began to give up all for lost. But the officers, with admirable presence of mind, causing a great shouting to be made in the city, as if fresh troops had just arrived, their own soldiers were inspired with fresh courage, while the Turks, being seized with a panic, fled precipitously, and overthrew each other, by which means the city was freed from destruction.

Victory of the Christians.

Grown more desperate by resistance, Solyman resolved upon another attempt, and this was by undermining the Corinthian gate. Accordingly he set his Illyrians to work, who were expert at this mode of warfare. They succeeded in coming under ground to the foundations of the tower; but being discovered by the wary citizens, they, with amazing activity and diligence, countermined them: and having prepared a train of gunpowder, even to the trenches of the enemy, they set fire to it, and by that means rendered abortive their attempts, and blew up about 8,000 of them. Foiled in every attempt, the courage of the Turkish chief degenerated into madness; he ordered his men to scale the walls, in which attempt they were destroyed by thousands, their very numbers serving to their own defeat, till at length the valour of his troops relaxed; and, dreading the hardihood of their European adversaries, they began

to refuse obedience. Sickness also seized their camp, and numbers perished from famine ; for the Germans, by their vigilance, had found means to cut off their supplies. Foiled in every attempt, Solymán, at length, after having lost above 80,000 men, resolved to abandon his enterprise. He accordingly put this resolve in execution, and sending his baggage before him, proceeded homewards with the utmost expedition, thus freeing Europe from the impending terror of universal Mahometanism.

Persecutions in Georgia and Mingrelia.

The Georgians are Christians, and being remarkable for their beauty, the Turks and Persians persecute them by the most cruel method. Instead of taking money for their taxes, they compel them to deliver up their children, the females for concubines in the seraglios, maids of honour to the Sultanas, &c., or to be sold to merchants of different nations, who proportion their price to the beauty of the devoted fair. The boys are taken for mutes and eunuchs in the seraglio, clerks in the offices of state, and soldiers in the army.

Westward of Georgia is Mingrelia, a country likewise inhabited by Christians, who undergo the same persecutions and rigours as the Georgians by the Turks and Persians, their children being torn from them, or they murdered for refusing to consent to the sale.

Persecutions in the States of Barbary.

In no part of the globe are Christians so hated, or treated with such severity, as at Algiers. The conduct of the Algerines towards them is marked with perfidy and cruelty. By paying a most exorbitant fine, some Christians are allowed the title of Free Christians ; these are permitted to dress in the fashion of their respective countries, but the Christian slaves are obliged to wear a coarse gray suit, and a seaman's cap.

The following are the various punishments exercised towards them : 1. If they join any of the natives in open rebellion, they are strangled with a bow-string, or hanged on an iron hook. 2. If they speak against Mahomet, they must become Mahometans, or be impaled alive. 3. If they profess Christianity again, after having changed to the Mahometan persuasion, they are roasted alive, or thrown from the city walls, and caught upon large sharp hooks, on which they hang till they expire. 4. If they kill a Turk they are burnt. 5. If they attempt to escape, and are retaken, they suffer death in the following manner : they are hung naked on a high gallows by two hooks, the one fastened quite through the palm of one hand, and the other through the sole of the opposite foot, where they are left till death relieves them. Other punishments for crimes committed by Christians are left to the discretion of the judges, who usually decree the most barbarous tortures.

At Tunis, if a Christian is caught in attempting to escape, his limbs are all broken ; and if he slay his master, he is fastened to the tail of a horse, and dragged about the streets till he expires.

Fez and Morocco conjointly form an empire, and are the most considerable of the Barbary states. The Christian slaves are treated with the greatest rigour ; the rich have exorbitant ransoms fixed upon them ; the poor are hard worked and half starved, and sometimes, by the emperor or their brutal masters, they are murdered.

SECTION II.

PERSECUTIONS IN CALABRIA.

About the fourth century, a great many Waldenses of Pragela and Dauphiny emigrated to Calabria, where, having received permission to settle in some waste lands, they soon, by the most industrious cul-

tivation, converted those wild and barren spots into regions of beauty and fertility.

The nobles of Calabria were highly pleased with their new subjects and tenants, finding them honest, quiet, and industrious ; but the priests, filled with jealousy, soon exhibited complaints against them, charging them with not being Roman Catholics, not making any of their boys priests, nor making any of their girls nuns, not going to mass, not giving wax tapers to their priests as offerings, not going on pilgrimages, and not bowing to images.

To these the Calabrian lords replied, that these people were extremely harmless, giving no offence to the Roman Catholics, but cheerfully paying the tithes to the priests, whose revenues were considerably increased by their coming into the country, and who, consequently, ought to be the last persons to make a complaint.

Those enemies to truth being thus silenced, things went on in peace for a few years, during which the Waldenses formed themselves into two corporate towns, annexing several villages to their jurisdiction.

At length they sent to Geneva for two clergymen, one to preach in each town. This being known, intelligence was conveyed to Pope Pius the Fourth, who determined to exterminate them from Calabria without further delay. To this end cardinal Alexandrino, a man of violent temper, and a furious bigot, was sent together with two monks to Calabria, where they were to act as inquisitors. These authorized persons came to St. Xist, one of the towns built by the Waldenses, where, having assembled the people, they told them that they should receive no injury if they would accept of preachers appointed by the pope ; but if they refused, they should be deprived both of their properties and lives ; and that to prove them, mass should be publicly said that afternoon, at which they must attend.

But the people of St. Xist, instead of observing this, fled with their families into the woods, and thus disappointed the cardinal and his coadjutors. Then they proceeded to La Garde, the other town belonging to the Waldenses, where, to avoid the like disappointment, they ordered the gates to be locked, and all avenues guarded. The same proposals were then made to the inhabitants as had been made to those of St. Xist, but with this artifice: the cardinal assured them that the inhabitants of St. Xist had immediately come into his proposals, and agreed that the pope should appoint them preachers. This falsehood succeeded; for the people of La Garde, thinking what the cardinal had told them to be truth, said, they would exactly follow the example of their brethren of St. Xist.

Having thus gained his point by a lie, he sent for two troops of soldiers, with a view to massacre the people of St. Xist. He accordingly commanded them into the woods, to hunt them down like wild beasts, and gave them strict orders to spare neither age nor sex, but to kill all they came near. The troops accordingly entered the woods, and many fell a prey to their ferocity, before the Waldenses were apprized of their design. At length, however, they determined to sell their lives as dearly as possible, when several conflicts happened, in which the half-armed Waldenses performed prodigies of valour, and many were slain on both sides. At length, the greater part of the troops being killed in the different rencounters, the remainder were compelled to retreat; which so enraged the cardinal, that he wrote to the viceroy of Naples for reinforcements.

The viceroy, in obedience to this, proclaimed throughout the Neapolitan territories, that all outlaws, deserters, and other proscribed persons, should be freely pardoned for their several offences, on condition of making a campaign against the inhabitants of St. Xist, and of continuing under arms till those

people were destroyed. On this several persons of desperate fortune came in, and being formed into light companies, were sent to scour the woods, and put to death all they could meet with of the reformed religion. The viceroy himself also joined the cardinal, at the head of a body of regular forces; and, in conjunction, they strove to accomplish their bloody purpose. Some they caught, and suspending them upon trees, cut down boughs and burnt them, or ripped them open and left their bodies to be devoured by wild beasts or birds of prey. Many they shot at a distance; but the greatest number they hunted down by way of *sport*. A few escaped into caves; but famine destroyed them in their retreat; and the inhuman chase was continued till all these poor people perished.

The inhabitants of St. Xist being exterminated, those of La Garde engaged the attention of the cardinal and viceroy. The fullest protection was offered to themselves, their families, and their children, if they would embrace the Roman Catholic persuasion; but, on the contrary, if they refused this mercy, as it was insolently termed, the most cruel deaths would be the certain consequence. In spite of the promises on one side, and menaces on the other, the Waldenses unanimously refused to renounce their religion, or embrace the errors of popery. The cardinal and viceroy were so enraged at this, that they ordered thirty of them to be put immediately to the rack, as a terror to the others. Several of these died under the torture: one Charlin, in particular, was so cruelly used that his belly burst, his bowels came out, and he expired in the greatest agonies. These barbarities, however, did not answer the end for which they were intended; for those who survived the torments of the rack, and those who had not felt it, remained equally constant in their faith, and boldly declared, that nothing, either of pain or fear, should induce them to renounce their God, or bow down to idols.

The inhuman cardinal then ordered several of them to be stripped naked, and whipped to death with iron rods : some were hacked to pieces with large knives ; others were thrown from the top of a high tower ; and many were cased over with pitch and burnt alive.

One of the monks who attended the cardinal, discovered a most inhuman and diabolical nature. He requested that he might shed some of the blood of these poor people with his own hands ; his request being granted, the monster took a large sharp knife, and cut the throats of four score men, women, and children. Their bodies were then quartered, the quarters placed upon stakes, and fixed in different parts of the country.

The four principal men of La Garde were hanged, and the clergyman was thrown from the top of his church steeple. He was dreadfully crushed, but not quite killed by the fall. The viceroy being present, said, " Is the dog yet living ? Take him up, and cast him to the hogs ;" which brutal sentence was actually put in execution.

The monsters, in their hellish thirst of cruelty, racked sixty of the women with such severity, that the cords pierced their limbs quite to the bone. They were after this remanded to prison, where their wounds mortified, and they died in the most miserable manner. Many others were put to death by various means ; and so jealous and arbitrary were those monsters, that if any Roman Catholics, more compassionate than the rest, interceded for any of the reformed, he was immediately apprehended, and sacrificed as a favourer of heretics.

The viceroy being obliged to return to Naples, and the cardinal having been recalled to Rome, the Marquis of Butiane was commissioned to complete what they had begun ; which he at length effected by acting with such barbarous rigour, that there was not a single person of the reformed religion left in all Cala-





Persecutions in the Valley of Piedmont.—Page 217.



Butchery of Seventy Protestants.—Page 229.

bria. Thus were a great number of inoffensive and harmless people deprived of their possessions, robbed of their property, driven from their homes, and at length murdered, only because they would not sacrifice their consciences to the superstitions of others, embrace doctrines which they abhorred, and attend to teachers whom they could not believe.

SECTION III.

PERSECUTIONS IN THE VALLEYS OF PIEDMONT.

The Waldenses, in consequence of the continued persecutions they met with in France, fled for refuge to various parts of the world ; among other places, many of them sought an asylum in the valleys of Piedmont, where they increased and flourished exceedingly for a considerable time.

Notwithstanding their harmless behaviour, inoffensive conversation, and their paying tithes to the Romish clergy, the latter could not be contented, but sought to give them disturbance, and accordingly complained to the archbishop of Turin, that the Waldenses were heretics ; upon which, he ordered a persecution to be commenced, in consequence of which many fell martyrs to the superstitious rage of the monks and priests.

At Turin, one of the reformed had his bowels torn out and put in a basin before his face, where they remained in his view till he expired. At Revel, Catelin Girard, being at the stake, desired the executioner to give him up a stone, which he refused, thinking that he meant to throw it at somebody ; but Girard assuring him that he had no such design, the executioner complied ; when Girard, looking earnestly at the stone, said, " When it is in the power of a man to eat and digest this stone, the religion for which I am about to suffer shall have an end, and

not before." He then threw the stone on the ground, and submitted cheerfully to the flames. A great many more were oppressed, or put to death, till, wearied with their sufferings, the Waldenses flew to arms in their defence, and formed themselves into regular bodies. Full of revenge at this, the archbishop of Turin sent troops against them; but in most of the skirmishes the Waldenses were victorious; for they knew, if they were taken, they should not be considered as prisoners of war, but be tortured to death as heretics.

Noble conduct of the Duke of Savoy.

Philip the Seventh, who was at this time Duke of Savoy, and supreme lord of Piedmont, determined to interpose his authority, and stop these bloody wars, which so disturbed his dominions. Nevertheless, unwilling to offend the pope, or the archbishop of Turin, he sent them both messages, importing, that he could not any longer tamely see his dominions over-run with troops, who were commanded by prelates in the place of generals; nor would he suffer his country to be depopulated, while he himself had not been even consulted upon the occasion.

The priests, perceiving the determination of the Duke, had recourse to the usual artifice, and endeavoured to prejudice his mind against the Waldenses; but he told them, that although he was unacquainted with the religious tenets of these people, yet he had always found them quiet, faithful, and obedient, and was therefore determined they should be persecuted no longer. The priests then vented the most palpable and absurd falsehoods: they assured the Duke that he was mistaken in the Waldenses, for they were a wicked set of people, and highly addicted to intemperance, uncleanness, blasphemy, adultery, incest, and many other abominable crimes; and that they were even monsters in nature, for their children were born with black throats, with four rows of teeth.

and bodies covered with hair. But the duke was not so to be imposed upon, notwithstanding the solemn affirmations of the priests. In order to come at the truth, he sent twelve gentlemen into the Piedmontese valleys, to examine into the real character of the people.

These gentlemen, after travelling through all the towns and villages, and conversing with the Waldenses of every rank, returned to the duke, and gave him the most favourable account of them ; affirming, in contradiction to the priests, that they were harmless, inoffensive, loyal, friendly, industrious, and pious ; that they abhorred the crimes of which they were accused ; and that, should an individual, through his depravity, fall into any of those crimes, he would, by their laws, be punished in the most exemplary manner. With respect to the children, of whom the priest had told the most gross and ridiculous falsehoods, they were neither born with black throats, teeth in their mouth, nor hair on their bodies, but were as fine children as could be seen. "And to convince your highness of what we have said," continued one of the gentlemen, "we have brought twelve of the principal male inhabitants, who are come to ask pardon in the name of the rest, for having taken up arms without your leave, though even in their own defence, and to preserve their lives from their merciless enemies. We have likewise brought several women, with children of various ages, that your highness may have an opportunity of judging for yourself." His highness then accepted the apology of the twelve delegates, conversed with the women, examined the children, and afterwards graciously dismissed them. He then commanded the priests, who had attempted to mislead him, immediately to leave the court ; and gave strict orders, that the persecution should cease throughout his dominions.

During the remainder of the reign of this virtuous prince, the Waldenses enjoyed repose in their re-

treats ; but, on his death, this happy scene changed, for his successor was a bigoted papist. About the same time, some of the principal Waldenses proposed that their clergy should preach in public, that every one might know the purity of their doctrines ; for hitherto they had preached only in private, and to such congregations as they well knew to consist of none but persons of the reformed religion.

When this reached the ears of the new duke, he was greatly exasperated, and sent a considerable body of troops into the valleys, swearing that if the people would not conform to the Romish faith, he would have them flayed alive. The commander of the troops soon found the impracticability of conquering them with the number of men then under him : he, therefore, sent word to the duke, that the idea of subjugating the Waldenses with so small a force was ridiculous ; that they were better acquainted with the country than any that were with him ; that they had secured all the passes, were well armed, and determined to defend themselves. Alarmed at this, the duke commanded his troops to return, determining to act by stratagem. He, therefore, ordered rewards for taking any of the Waldenses, who might be found straying from their places of security ; and these, when taken, were either flayed alive or burnt.

Pope Paul the Third, a furious bigot, ascending the pontifical chair, immediately solicited the parliament of Turin to persecute the Waldenses, as the most pernicious of all heretics. To this the parliament readily assented, when several were suddenly seized and burnt by their order. Among these was Bartholomew Hector, a bookseller of Turin. He had been brought up a Roman Catholic, but some treatises written by the reformed clergy having fallen into his hands, he was fully convinced of their truth, and of the errors of the church of Rome ; yet his mind was, for some time, wavering between fear and duty, when, after serious consideration, he fully em-

braced the reformed religion, and was apprehended, as we have already mentioned, and burnt.

A consultation was again held by the parliament of Turin, in which it was agreed, that deputies should be sent to the valleys of Piedmont with the following propositions: 1. That if the Waldenses would return to the bosom of the church of Rome, they should enjoy their houses, properties, and lands, and live with their families, without the least molestation. 2. That to prove their obedience, they should send twelve of their principal persons, with all their ministers and schoolmasters, to Turin, to be dealt with at discretion. 3. That the pope, the king of France, and the duke of Savoy, approved of and authorized the proceedings of the parliament of Turin, upon this occasion. 4. That if the Waldenses of Piedmont rejected these propositions, persecution and death should be their reward.

In answer to these hostile articles, the Waldenses made the following noble replies: 1. That no consideration whatever should make them renounce their religion. 2. That they would never consent to intrust their best friends to the custody and discretion of their worst enemies. 3. That they valued the approbation of the King of kings, who reigns in heaven, more than any temporal authority. 4. That their souls were more precious than their bodies.

As may be conjectured, these spirited and pointed answers greatly exasperated the parliament of Turin: in consequence of which they continued, with more avidity than ever, to seize such Waldenses as unfortunately had strayed from their hiding-places, and put them to the most cruel deaths.

They soon after solicited from the king of France a considerable body of troops, in order to exterminate the reformed from Piedmont; but just as the troops were about to march, the protestant princes of Germany interposed, and threatened to send troops to assist the Waldenses. On this, the king of France

not wishing to enter into a war, remanded the troops. This greatly disappointed the sanguinary members of the parliament, and for want of power the persecution gradually ceased, and they could only put to death such as they caught by chance, which, owing to the caution of the Waldenses, were very few.

After a few years tranquillity, they were again disturbed in the following manner : The pope's nuncio, coming to Turin, told the duke he was astonished that he had not yet either rooted out the Waldenses from Piedmont entirely, or compelled them to return to the church of Rome. That such conduct in him awakened suspicion, and that he really thought him a favourer of those heretics, and should accordingly report the affair to the pope. Roused by this reflection, and fearful of being misrepresented to the pope, the duke determined to banish those suspicions ; and, to prove his zeal, resolved to persecute the unoffending Waldenses. He, accordingly, issued express orders for all to attend mass regularly, on pain of death. This they absolutely refused to do ; on which he entered Piedmont with a great body of troops, and began a most furious persecution, in which great numbers were hanged, drowned, ripped open, tied to trees, pierced with prongs, thrown from precipices, burnt, stabbed, racked to death, worried by dogs, and crucified with their heads downwards. Those who fled had their goods plundered and their houses burnt. When they caught a minister or a schoolmaster, they put him to such exquisite tortures as are scarcely credible. If any whom they took seemed wavering in their faith, they did not put them to death, but sent them to the galleys, to be made converts by dint of hardships.

In this expedition the duke was accompanied by three men who resembled devils, viz. : 1. Thomas Incomel, an apostate, brought up in the reformed religion, but who had renounced his faith, embraced the errors of popery, and turned monk. He was a

great libertine, given to unnatural crimes, and most particularly solicitous for the plunder of the Waldenses. 2. Corbis, a man of a very ferocious and cruel nature, whose business was to examine the prisoners. 3. The provost of justice, an avaricious wretch, anxious for the execution of the Waldenses, as every execution added to his hoards.

These three monsters were unmerciful to the last degree ; wherever they came, the blood of the innocent was shed. But, besides the cruelties exercised by the duke with these three persons and the army in their different marches, many local barbarities took place. At Pignerol was a monastery, the monks of which finding they might injure the reformed with impunity, began to plunder their houses, and pull down their churches ; and not meeting with opposition, they next seized upon the persons of those unhappy people, murdering the men, confining the women, and putting the children to Roman Catholic nurses.

In the same manner the Roman Catholic inhabitants of the valley of St. Martin did all they could to torment the neighbouring Waldenses ; they destroyed their churches, burnt their houses, seized their property, carried away their cattle, converted their lands to their own use, committed their ministers to the flames, and drove the people to the woods, where they had nothing to subsist on but wild fruits, the bark of trees, roots, &c. &c.

Some Roman Catholic ruffians having seized a minister, as he was going to preach, determined to take him to a convenient place, and burn him. His parishioners hearing of this, armed themselves, pursued and attacked the villains ; who, finding they could not execute their first intent, stabbed the poor gentleman, and, leaving him weltering in his blood, made a precipitate retreat. His parishioners did all they could to recover him, but in vain ; for he expired as they were carrying him home.

The monks of Pignerol, having a great desire to get into their possession a minister of the town of St. Germain, hired a band of ruffians for the purpose of seizing him. These fellows were conducted by a treacherous servant to the clergyman, who knew a secret way to the house, by which he could lead them without alarming the neighbourhood. The guide knocked at the door, and being asked who was there, answered in his own name. The clergyman, expecting no injury from a person on whom he had heaped favours, immediately opened the door; perceiving the ruffians, he fled, but they rushed in and seized him. They then murdered all his family; after which they proceeded with their captive towards Pignerol, goading him all the way. He was confined a considerable time in prison, and then burnt.

The murderers continuing their assaults about the town of St. Germain, murdering and plundering many of the inhabitants, the reformed of Lucerne and Angrogne sent some armed men to the assistance of their brethren. These men frequently attacked and routed the ruffians, which so alarmed the monks, that they left their monastery of Pignerol, till they could procure regular troops for their protection.

The duke of Savoy, not finding himself so successful as he at first imagined he should be, augmented his forces, joined to them the ruffians, and commanded that a general delivery should take place in the prisons, provided the persons released would bear arms, and assist in the extermination of the Waldenses.

No sooner were the Waldenses informed of these proceedings than they secured as much of their property as they could, and, quitting the valleys, retired to the rocks and caves among the Alps.

The army no sooner reached their destination than they began to plunder and burn the towns and villages; but they could not force the passes of the Alps, gallantly defended by the Waldenses, who in those

attempts always repulsed their enemies ; but if any fell into the hands of the troops, they were treated in the most barbarous manner. A soldier having caught one of them, bit his right ear off, saying, " I will carry this member of that wicked heretic with me into my own country, and preserve it as a rarity." He then stabbed the man, and threw him into a ditch.

At one time, a party of troops found a venerable man upwards of a hundred years of age, accompanied by his grand-daughter, a maiden of about eighteen, in a cave. They murdered the poor old man in the most inhuman manner, and then attempted to ravish the girl, when she started away, and being pursued, threw herself from a precipice and was dashed to pieces.

Determined, if possible, to expel their invaders, the Waldenses entered into a league with the protestant powers of Germany, and with the reformed of Dauphiny and Pragela. These were respectively to furnish bodies of troops ; and the Waldenses resolved, when thus reinforced, to quit the mountains of the Alps, where they soon must have perished, as the winter was coming on, and to force the duke's army to evacuate their native valleys.

But the Duke of Savoy himself was tired of the war, it having cost him great fatigue and anxiety of mind, a vast number of men, and very considerable sums of money. It had been much more tedious and bloody than he expected, as well as more expensive than he at first imagined, for he thought the plunder would have discharged the expenses of the expedition : in this, however, he was mistaken ; for the pope's nuncio, the bishops, monks, and other ecclesiastics, who attended the army and encouraged the war, sunk the greatest part of the wealth that was taken, under various pretences. For these reasons, and the death of his duchess, of which he had just received intelligence, and fearing that the Waldenses, by the treaties they had entered into, would be-

come too powerful for him, he determined to return to Turin with his army, and to make peace with them.

This resolution he put in practice, greatly against the wish of the ecclesiastics, who by the war gratified both their avarice and revenge. Before the articles of peace could be ratified, the duke himself died ; but on his death-bed he strictly enjoined his son to perform what he had intended, and to be as favourable as possible to the Waldenses.

Charles-Emanuel, the Duke's son, succeeded to the dominions of Savoy, and fully ratified the peace with the Waldenses, according to the last injunctions of his father, though the priests used all their arts to dissuade him from his purpose.

SECTION IV.

PERSECUTIONS IN VENICE.

Before the terrors of the inquisition were known at Venice, a great number of protestants fixed their residence there, and many converts were made by the purity of their doctrines, and the inoffensiveness of their conversation.

The pope no sooner learned the great increase of protestantism, than he, in the year 1542, sent inquisitors to Venice, to apprehend such as they might deem obnoxious. Hence a severe persecution began, and many persons were martyred for serving God with sincerity, and scorning the trappings of superstition.

Various were the modes by which the protestants were deprived of life ; but one in particular, being both new and singular, we shall describe : as soon as sentence was passed, the prisoner had an iron chain, to which was suspended a great stone, fastened to his body ; he was then laid flat upon a plank, with his face upwards, and rowed between two boats to a

certain distance at sea, when the boats separated, and, by the weight of the stone, he was sunk to the bottom.

If any dared to deny the jurisdiction of the inquisitors at Venice, they were conveyed to Rome, where, being committed to damp and nauseous dungeons, their flesh mortified, and a most miserable death ensued.

SECTION V.

MARTYRDOMS IN VARIOUS PARTS OF ITALY.

John Mollius was born at Rome of a respectable family. At twelve years old his parents placed him in a monastery of gray friars, where he made so rapid a progress in his studies, that he was admitted to priest's orders at the early age of eighteen years. He was then sent to Ferrara, where, after six years further study, he was appointed theological reader in the university of that city. Here he began to exercise his great talents to disguise the gospel truths, and to varnish over the errors of the church of Rome. Having passed some years here, he removed to the university of Bononia, where he became a professor. At length, happily reading some treatises written by ministers of the reformed religion, he was suddenly struck with the errors of popery, and became in his heart a zealous protestant. He now determined to expound, in truth and simplicity, St. Paul's epistle to the Romans, in a regular course of sermons; at each of which he was attended by a vast concourse of people. But when the priests learned his doctrines, they despatched an account thereof to Rome; upon which the pope sent Cornelius, a monk, to Bononia, to expound the same epistle, according to his own tenets, and to controvert the doctrine of Mollius. The people, however, found such a disparity between the two preachers, that the audience of Mollius in-

creased, while Cornelius preached to empty benches. The latter on this wrote of his bad success to the pope, who immediately ordered Mollius to be apprehended. He was seized accordingly, and kept in close confinement. The bishop of Bononia sent him word that he must recant or be burnt; but he appealed to Rome, and was in consequence removed thither. Here he begged to have a public trial; but this the pope absolutely denied him, and commanded him to explain his opinions in writing, which accordingly he did on scripture authority. The pope, for reasons of policy, spared him for the present; but in the year 1553, had him hanged, and his body afterwards burnt to ashes.

Francis Gamba, a Lombard and a protestant, was apprehended, and condemned to death by the senate of Milan, in the year 1554. At the place of execution he was presented by a monk with a cross. "My mind," said Gamba, "is so full of the real merits and goodness of Christ, that I want not a piece of senseless stick to put me in mind of him." For this expression his tongue was bored through, after which he was committed to the flames.

About the same period, Algerius, a learned and accomplished student in the university of Padua, embraced the reformed religion, and was zealous in the conversion of others. For these proceedings he was accused of heresy to the pope, and being apprehended, was committed to prison at Venice, whence he wrote to his converts at Padua the following celebrated and beautiful epistle.

"DEAR FRIENDS,

"I CANNOT omit this opportunity of letting you know the sincere pleasure I feel in my confinement; to suffer for Christ is delectable indeed; to undergo a little transitory pain in this world, for his sake, is cheaply purchasing a reversion of eternal glory, in a life that is everlasting. Hence I have found honey in the entrails of a lion; a paradise in a prison;

tranquillity in the house of sorrow ; where others weep, I rejoice ; where others tremble and faint, I find strength and courage. The Almighty alone confers these favours on me ; be his the glory and the praise.

“ How different do I find myself from what I was before I embraced the truth in its purity ! I was then dark, doubtful, and in dread ; I am now enlightened, certain, and full of joy. He that was far from me is present with me ; he comforts my spirit, heals my grief, strengthens my mind, refreshes my heart, and fortifies my soul. Learn, therefore, how merciful and amiable the Lord is, who supports his servants under temptations, expels their sorrows, lightens their afflictions, and even visits them with his glorious presence in the gloom of a dismal dungeon.

“ Your sincere friend,

“ ALGERIUS.”

The pope being informed of Algerius’s great learning and abilities, sent for him to Rome, and tried, by every means, to win him to his purpose. But finding his endeavours hopeless, he ordered him to be burnt.

In 1559, John Alloysius, a protestant teacher, having come from Geneva to preach in Calabria, was there apprehended, carried to Rome, and burnt, by order of the pope ; and at Messina, James Bovellus was burnt for the same offence.

In the year 1560, Pope Pius the Fourth commenced a general persecution of the protestants throughout the Italian states, when great numbers of every age, sex, and condition, suffered martyrdom. Concerning the cruelties practised upon this occasion, a learned and humane Roman Catholic thus speaks in a letter to a nobleman :

“ I cannot, my lord, forbear disclosing my sentiments with respect to the persecution now carrying on. I think it cruel and unnecessary ; I tremble at

the manner of putting to death, as it resembles more the slaughter of calves and sheep, than the execution of human beings. I will relate to your lordship a dreadful scene, of which I was myself an eye-witness : seventy protestants were cooped up in one filthy dungeon together ; the executioner went in among them, picked out one from among the rest, blindfolded him, led him out to an open place before the prison, and cut his throat with the greatest composure. He then calmly walked into the prison again, bloody as he was, and with the knife in his hand selected another, and despatched him in the same manner ; and this, my lord, he repeated, till the whole number were put to death. I leave it to your lordship's feelings to judge of my sensations upon the occasion ; my tears now wash the paper upon which I give you the recital. Another thing I must mention, the patience with which they met death : they seemed all resignation and piety, fervently praying to God, and cheerfully encountering their fate. I cannot reflect without shuddering, how the executioner held the bloody knife between his teeth ; what a dreadful figure he appeared, all covered with blood, and with what unconcern he executed his barbarous office !”

SECTION VI.

PERSECUTIONS IN THE MARQUISATE OF SALUCES.

The marquisate of Saluces, or Saluzzo, is situated on the south side of the valleys of Piedmont, and in the year 1561 was principally inhabited by protestants ; when the marquis began a persecution against them, at the instigation of the pope. He commenced by banishing the ministers ; if any of whom refused to leave their flocks, they were imprisoned and severely tortured : he did not, however, put any to death

A little time after, the marquisate fell into the possession of the duke of Savoy, who sent circular letters to all the towns and villages, that he expected the people should all go to mass. Upon this the inhabitants of Saluces returned a submissive yet manly answer, entreating permission to continue in the practice of the religion of their forefathers.

This letter for a time seemed to pacify the duke, but, at length, he sent them word that they must either conform to his former commands, or leave his dominions in fifteen days. The protestants, upon this unexpected edict, sent a deputy to the duke to obtain his revocation, or at least to have it moderated. Their petitions, however, were vain, and they were given to understand that the edict was peremptory.

Some, under the impulse of fear, or worldly interest, were weak enough to go to mass, in order to avoid banishment, and preserve their property; others removed, with all their effects, to different countries; many neglected the time so long, that they were obliged to abandon all they were worth, and leave the marquisate in haste; while some, who unhappily staid behind, were seized, plundered, and put to death.

SECTION VII.

PERSECUTIONS IN PIEDMONT IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

Pope Clement the Eighth sent missionaries into the valleys of Piedmont, with a view to induce the protestants to renounce their religion. These missionaries erected monasteries in several parts of the valleys, and soon became very troublesome to the reformed, to whom the monasteries appeared not only as fortresses to curb, but as sanctuaries for all such to fly to as had injured them in any degree.

The insolence and tyranny of these missionaries increasing, the protestants petitioned the duke of Savoy for protection. But instead of granting any redress, the duke published a decree, in which he declared that one witness should be sufficient in a court of law against a protestant ; and that any witness who convicted a protestant of any crime whatever, should be entitled to a hundred crowns as a reward.

In consequence of this, as may be imagined, many protestants fell martyrs to the perjury and avarice of the papists, who would swear any thing against them for the sake of the reward, and then fly to their own priests for absolution from their false oaths.

These missionaries endeavoured to get the books of the protestants into their power, in order to burn them ; and on the owners concealing them, wrote to the duke of Savoy, who, for the heinous crime of not surrendering their Bibles, prayer-books, and religious treatises, sent a number of troops to be quartered on them, which occasioned the ruin of many families.

To encourage as much as possible the apostacy of the protestants, the duke published a proclamation, granting an exemption for five years from all taxes to every protestant who should become a catholic. He likewise established a court called the council for extirpating the heretics ; the object and nature of which are sufficiently evident from its name.

After this the duke published several edicts, prohibiting the protestants from acting as schoolmasters or tutors ; from teaching any art, science, or language ; from holding any places of profit, trust, or honour ; and finally, commanding them to attend mass. This last was a signal for a persecution, which of course soon followed.

Before the persecution commenced, the missionaries employed kidnappers to steal away the children of the protestants, that they might privately be brought up Roman Catholics : but now they took

away the children by open force, and if the wretched parents resisted, they were immediately murdered.

The duke of Savoy, in order to give force to the persecution, called a general assembly of the Roman Catholic nobility and gentry, whence issued a solemn edict against the reformed, containing many heads, and including several reasons for extirpating them, among which the following were the principal: the preservation of the papal authority; that the church livings might be all under one mode of government: to make a union among all parties; in honour of all the saints and of the ceremonies of the church of Rome.

This was followed by a most cruel order, published on January 25, 1655, which decreed that every family of the reformed religion, of whatever rank residing in Lucerne, St. Giovanni, Bibiana, Campiglione, St. Secondo, Lucernetta, La Torre, Fenile, or Bricherassio, should, within three days after the publication thereof, depart from their habitations to such places as were appointed by the duke, on pain of death and confiscation.

This order produced the greatest distress among the unhappy objects of it, as it was enforced with the greatest severity, in the depth of a very severe winter, and the people were driven from their habitations at the time appointed, without even sufficient clothes to cover them: by which many perished in the mountains through the severity of the weather, or for want of food. Those who remained behind after the publication of the decree, were murdered by the popish inhabitants, or shot by the troops, and the most horrible barbarities were perpetrated by these ruffians, encouraged by the Roman Catholic priests and monks, of which the following may serve as a specimen.

Martha Constantine, a beautiful young woman, was first ravished, and then killed, by cutting off her breasts. These some of the soldiers fried, and set

before their comrades, who ate them without knowing what they were. When they had done eating, the others told them what they had made a meal of, in consequence of which, a quarrel ensued, and a battle took place. Several were killed in the fray, the greater part of whom were those concerned in the horrid massacre of the woman, and the inhuman deception on their comrades.

Peter Simonds, a protestant, of about eighty years of age, was tied neck and heels, and then thrown down a precipice. In his fall the branch of a tree caught hold of the ropes that fastened him, and suspended him in the mid-way, so that he languished for several days, till he perished of hunger.

Several men, women, and children, were flung from the rocks and dashed to pieces. Among others, Magdalen Bertino, a protestant woman of La Torre, was stripped naked, her head tied between her legs, and she was then thrown down a precipice. Mary Raymond, of the same town, had her flesh sliced from her bones till she expired; Magdalen Pilot, of Villaro, was cut to pieces in the cave of Castolus; Ann Charboniere had one end of a stake thrust up her body, and the other end being fixed in the ground, she was left in that manner to perish; and Jacob Perrin the elder, of the church of Villaro, with David, his brother, was flayed alive.

Giovanni Andrea Michialin, an inhabitant of La Torre, with four of his children, was apprehended; three of them were hacked to pieces before him, the soldiers asking him, at the death of every child, if he would recant, which he constantly refused. One of the soldiers then took up the last and youngest by the legs, and putting the same question to the father, he replied as before, when the inhuman brute dashed out the child's brains. The father, however, at the same moment started from them, and fled: the soldiers fired after him, but missed him; and he escaped to the Alps, and there remained concealed.

Giovanni Pelanchion, on refusing to abjure his faith, was tied by one leg to the tail of a mule, and dragged through the streets of Lucerne, amidst the acclamations of an inhuman mob, who kept stoning him, and crying out, "He is possessed of the devil." They then took him to the river side, chopped off his head, and left that and his body unburied, upon the bank of the river.

A beautiful child, ten years of age, named Magdalene Fontaine, was ravished and murdered by the soldiers. Another girl, of about the same age, they roasted alive at Villa Nova; and a poor woman, hearing the soldiers were coming towards her house, snatched up the cradle in which her infant son was asleep, and fled towards the woods. The soldiers, however, saw and pursued her, when she lightened herself by putting down the cradle and child, which the soldiers no sooner came to, than they murdered the infant, and continuing the pursuit, found the mother in a cave, where they first ravished, and then cut her to atoms.

Jacobo Michelino, chief elder of the church of Bobbio, and several other protestants, were hung up by hooks fixed in their flesh, and left so to expire. Giovanni Rostagnal, a venerable protestant, upwards of fourscore years of age, had his nose and ears cut off, and the flesh cut from his body, till he bled to death.

Jacob Birone, a schoolmaster of Rorata, was stripped naked; and after having been so exposed, had the nails of his toes and fingers torn off with red-hot pincers, and holes bored through his hands with the point of a dagger. He next had a cord tied round his middle, and was led through the streets with a soldier on each side of him. At every turning the soldier on his right-hand side cut a gash in his flesh, and the soldier on his left-hand side struck him with a bludgeon, both saying, at the same instant, "Will you go to mass? Will you go to mass?" He still

replied in the negative, and being at length taken to the bridge, they cut off his head on the balustrades, and threw both that and his body into the river.

Paul Garnier, a protestant beloved for his piety, had his eyes put out, was then flayed alive, and being divided into four parts, his quarters were placed on four of the principal houses of Lucerne. He bore all his sufferings with the most exemplary patience, praised God as long as he could speak, and plainly evinced the courage arising from a confidence in God.

Some of the Irish troops having taken eleven men of Garcigliana prisoners, they heated a furnace red-hot, and forced them to push each other in till they came to the last man, who they themselves pushed in.

Michael Gonet, a man about 90 years old, was burnt to death ; Baptista Oudri, another old man, was stabbed ; and Bartholomew Frasche had his heels pierced, through which ropes being put, he was dragged by them to the jail, where, in consequence of his wounds mortifying, he soon died.

Many more suffered martyrdom in various ways, which cannot here be noticed.

SECTION VIII.

PERSECUTIONS OF MICHAEL DE MOLINOS, A NATIVE OF SPAIN.

Michael de Molinos, a Spaniard, of a rich and noble family, entered at an early age into priest's orders, but would accept of no preferment in the church. His talents were of a superior class, and he dedicated them to the service of his fellow-creatures. His life was uniformly pious ; but he did not assume those austerities so common among the religious orders of the Romish church.

Being of a contemplative turn, he pursued the track of the mystical divines, and having acquired great reputation in Spain, he became desirous of propagating his mode of devotion, and, accordingly, left his own country, and settled in Rome. Here he soon connected himself with some of the most distinguished among the literati, who, approving of his religious maxims, assisted him in propagating them. His followers soon augmented to a considerable number, and, from the peculiarity of their doctrine, were distinguished by the name of Quietists.

In 1675 he published a book, entitled, *Il Guida Spirituale*, which soon became known, and was read with great avidity, both in Italy and Spain. His fame was now blazed abroad, and friends flowed in upon him. Many letters were written to him, and a correspondence was settled between him and those who approved of his tenets, in different parts of Europe. Some secular priests, both at Rome and Naples, declared themselves openly in his favour, and consulted him as a sort of oracle : but those who attached themselves to him with the greatest sincerity, were some of the fathers of the Oratory, the most eminent of whom were, Coloredi, Ciceri, and Petrucci. Many of the cardinals also courted his friendship. Among others was the cardinal d'Estrees, a man of great learning, to whom Molinos opened his mind without reserve.

His reputation now began to alarm the Jesuits and Dominicans : they, therefore, exclaimed against him and his followers as heretics, and published several treatises in defence of their charge, which Molinos answered with becoming spirit.

These disputes occasioned such a disturbance in Rome, that the affair was noticed by the inquisition. Molinos and his book, and father Petrucci, who had written some treatises and letters on the same subject, were brought under a severe examination ; and the Jesuits were considered as the accusers. In the

course of the examination, both Molinos and Petrucci acquitted themselves so ably, that their books were again approved, and the answers which the Jesuits had written were censured as scandalous and unbecoming.

Petrucci, on this occasion, was so highly applauded, that he was soon after made bishop of Jesis. Their books were now esteemed more than ever, and their method was more followed.

Thus the great reputation acquired by Molinos and Petrucci, occasioned a daily increase of the Quietists. All who were thought sincerely devout, or at least affected to be so, were reckoned among the number. These persons, in proportion as their zeal increased in their mental devotions, appeared less careful as to the exterior parts of the church ceremonies. They were not so assiduous at masses, nor so earnest to procure them to be said for their friends; nor were they so frequently either in processions or at confession.

Notwithstanding the approbation expressed for Molinos' book by the inquisition had checked the open hostility of his enemies, they were still inveterate against him in their hearts, and determined, if possible, to ruin him. They therefore secretly insinuated that he had ill designs, and was an enemy to Christianity: that, under pretence of raising men to a sublime strain of devotion, he intended to erase from their minds a sense of the mysteries of religion. And because he was a Spaniard, they gave out that he was a descendant from a Jewish or Mahometan race, and that he might carry in his blood, or in his first education, some seeds of those doctrines he had since cultivated with no less art than zeal.

Molinos, finding himself attacked with such unrelenting malice, took every necessary precaution to prevent its effect upon the public mind. He wrote a treatise entitled "Frequent and Daily Communion," which was likewise approved by some of the most

learned of the Romish clergy. This, with his *Spiritual Guide*, was printed in the year 1675; and in the preface to it he declared, that he had not written it with any design to engage in matters of controversy, but by the earnest solicitations of many pious people.

The Jesuits having again failed in their attempts to crush his influence at Rome, applied to the court of France, when they so far succeeded, that an order was sent to cardinal d'Estrees, commanding him to prosecute Molinos with all possible rigour. The cardinal, notwithstanding his attachment to Molinos, resolved to sacrifice friendship to interest. Finding however, there was not sufficient matter for an accusation against him, he determined to supply that defect himself. He therefore went to the inquisitors and informed them of several particulars relative to Molinos and Petrucci, both of whom, with several of their friends, were put into the inquisition.

On being brought before the inquisitors, (which was in the beginning of the year 1684,) Petrucci answered the questions put to him with so much judgment and temper, that he was soon dismissed; but with regard to Molinos, though the inquisition had not any just accusation against him, yet they strained every nerve to find him guilty of heresy. They first objected to his holding a correspondence in different parts of Europe; but of this he was acquitted, as the matter of that correspondence could not be considered as criminal. They then directed their attention to some suspicious papers found in his chamber; but he so clearly explained their meaning, that nothing could be wrested from them to his prejudice. At length, cardinal d'Estrees, after producing the order sent him by the king of France for prosecuting Molinos, said he could convince the court of his heresy. He then proceeded to pervert the meaning of some passages in Molinos's books and papers, and related many false and aggravating circumstances re-

lative to the prisoner. He acknowledged he had lived with him under the appearance of friendship, but that it was only to discover his principles and intentions : that he found them to be of a bad nature, and that dangerous consequences were likely to ensue : but in order to make a full discovery, he had assented to several things, which, in his heart, he detested ; and that, by these means, he became master of all his secrets.

In consequence of this evidence, Molinos was closely confined in the inquisition, where he continued for some time, during which period all was quiet, and his followers continued their mode of worship without interruption. But at the instigation of the Jesuits, a storm suddenly broke out upon them with the most inveterate fury.

Persecution of the Quietists.

Count Vespiniانى and his lady, Don Paulo Rocchi, and nearly seventy other persons, among whom many were highly esteemed both for their learning and piety, were put into the inquisition. The accusation laid against the clergy was, their neglecting to say the breviary ; the rest were accused of going to communion without first attending confession, and neglecting all the exterior parts of religion.

The countess Vespiniانى, on her examination before the inquisitors, said that she had never revealed her method of devotion to any mortal but her confessor, without whose treachery it was impossible they should know it. That, therefore, it was time to give over going to confession, if priests thus abused it, betraying the most secret thoughts intrusted to them ; and that, for the future, she would only make her confession to God.

From that spirited speech, and the great noise made in consequence of the countess's situation, the inquisitors thought it most prudent to dismiss both her and her husband, lest the people might be in-

censed, and what she said might lessen the credit of confession. They were, therefore, both discharged ; but bound to appear whenever they should be called upon.

Such was the inveteracy of the Jesuits against the Quietists, that within the space of a month upwards of 200 persons, besides those already mentioned, were put into the inquisition ; and that method of devotion which had passed in Italy as the most elevated to which mortals could aspire, was deemed heretical, and the chief promoters of it confined in dungeons.

A circular letter, urging the extirpation of the Quietists, was sent by the inquisitors, through cardinal Cibo, the pope's chief minister, to the Italian bishops ; but without much effect, as the greater number of them were inclined to Molinos's method. It was intended that this, as well as all other orders from the inquisitors, should be kept secret ; but notwithstanding all their care, copies of it were printed, and dispersed in most of the principal towns in Italy. This gave great uneasiness to the inquisitors, who use every method they can to conceal their proceedings from the knowledge of the world. They blamed the cardinal, and accused him of being the cause of it : but he retorted on them, and his secretary laid the fault on both.

Sentence against Molinos.

In the mean time, Molinos suffered greatly from the officers of the inquisition : and the only comfort he received, was being sometimes visited by father Petrucci. Yet although he had lived in the highest reputation in Rome for some years, he was now as much despised as he had been admired. Most of his followers, who had been placed in the inquisition, having abjured his mode, were dismissed ; but a harder fate awaited their leader. When he had lain a considerable time in prison, he was brought again

before the inquisitors, to answer to a number of articles exhibited against him from his writings. As soon as he appeared in court, a chain was put round his body, and a wax-light in his hand, when two friars read aloud the articles of accusation. Molinos answered each with great steadiness and resolution; and notwithstanding his arguments totally defeated the force of all, yet he was found guilty of heresy, and was condemned to imprisonment for life.

Having left the court, he was attended by a priest, who had borne him the greatest respect. On his arrival at the prison, he entered the cell with great tranquillity; and on taking leave of the priest, thus addressed him: "Adieu, father; we shall meet again at the day of judgment, and then it will appear on which side the truth is, whether on my side or on yours."

While in confinement he was several times tortured in the most cruel manner, till, at length, the severity of the punishments overpowered his strength, and death released him from his cruel persecutors.

The followers of Molinos were so terrified by the sufferings of their leader, that the greater part of them soon abjured his mode; and by the assiduity of the Jesuits, Quietism was totally extirpated.

SECTION IX.

PERSECUTION OF THE PROTESTANTS IN FRANCE, DURING THE 16TH AND 17TH CENTURIES.

In our sixth chapter we gave a brief account of the horrible massacre in France, in 1572, in the reign of Charles IX., who has been well entitled "The Bloody." This inhuman tyrant dying, was succeeded in 1574 by Henry III., who, from political rather than religious motives, favoured the protestants, which so greatly displeased the catholics, that he felt himself obliged to recall the privileges which he had

granted them. Hence arose civil dissensions, which nearly ruined the kingdom. In 1589, Henry was assassinated by one James Clement, a fanatical priest, and was succeeded by the king of Navarre, under the title of Henry IV.

This prince, after struggling with his numerous enemies during several years, found it expedient to declare himself a Roman Catholic, and thus to obtain the suffrages of the majority of his subjects. This apostacy was a severe affliction to the faithful; but, although he abandoned his religion, and sacrificed a heavenly for an earthly crown, he did not, like many apostates, persecute the members of the church which he had quitted. He was, in all other respects, truly worthy of the appellation of *Great*; a title so frequently and so unjustly bestowed on men who sacrifice the lives and happiness of their fellow-creatures at the shrine of their own vanity and cruelty, and deserve rather to be execrated than admired, and regarded as demons than as demigods.

Upon the restoration of tranquillity in his dominions, Henry applied himself to the cultivation of the arts of peace, and by encouraging agriculture, manufactures, and trade, laboured successfully to recover France from the desolation and misery which thirty years of civil war and religious persecution had brought upon her. Nor was he unmindful of his ancient friends the protestants. By the edict of Nantes, issued in 1598, he granted them a full toleration and protection in the exercise of their religious opinions. In consequence of this, the true church of Christ abode in peace during many years, and flourished exceedingly.

Henry was at length assassinated, in 1610, by Ravallac, a Jesuit, filled with that frantic bigotry which the Roman Catholic religion has so peculiar a tendency to inspire and to cherish.

Louis XIII. being a minor at the death of his father, the kingdom was nominally governed by the

queen-mother, but really by her minion, cardinal Richelieu, a man of great abilities, which were unhappily perverted to the worst purposes. He was cruel, bigoted, tyrannical, rapacious, and sensual; he trampled on the civil and religious liberties of France; and hesitated not to accomplish his intentions by the most barbarous and infamous methods.

The protestants at length, unable longer to endure the injuries daily heaped upon them, resolved to take arms in defence of their religion and their liberty. But the vigour of the cardinal defeated all their enterprises, and Rochelle, the last fortress which remained in their possession, was, in 1628, after a long siege, in which the defenders were reduced to the most horrible extremities of famine and suffering, surrendered to his victorious arms. He immediately caused the walls and fortifications to be destroyed; and those of the garrison who survived, were either put to death by the infuriated soldiery, or condemned to the galleys for life.

After this unhappy event, although the power of the protestants was too much broken to permit them to assert their rights in the field, and they therefore appeared to their enemies as if crushed and extinguished, there yet remained many thousands who "refused to bow the knee to Baal;" their God upheld them by his gracious promises; they knew that He, without whose orders "not even a sparrow shall perish," would not allow his faithful servants to fall unregarded; and they consoled themselves with the reflection, that however they might be despised, contemned, and persecuted on earth, they would in the end arrive at those heavenly mansions prepared for them by their Father, where "all tears shall be wiped from all faces;" and where an eternity of glorious and celestial happiness shall infinitely outweigh the temporary and trivial sufferings of mortality.

During the fifty years which succeeded the reduction of Rochelle, the protestants suffered every in-

dignity, injustice, and cruelty, which their barbarous persecutors could devise. They were at the mercy of every petty despot, who, "dressed in a little brief authority," wished to gratify his malice, or signalize the season of his power, by punishing the *heretics*, and evincing his attachment to the *infallible church*. The consequences of this may easily be imagined; every petty vexation which can render private life miserable, every species of plunder and extortion, and every wanton exertion of arbitrary power, were employed to harass and molest the protestants of all ranks, sexes, and ages.

At length, in 1684, the impious and blasphemous tyrant, Louis XIV., who, in imitation of the worst Roman emperors, wished to receive divine honours, and was flattered by his abject courtiers into the belief that he was more than human, determined to establish his claim to the title of *le grand*, which their fulsome adulation had bestowed on him, by the extirpation of the *heretics* from his dominions. Pretending, however, to wish for their conversion to the *true faith*, he gave them the alternative of voluntarily becoming papists, or *being compelled to it*.

On their refusal to apostatize, they were *dragoon-ed*; that is, the dragoons, the most ruffianly and barbarous of his *Christian* majesty's troops, were quartered upon them, with orders to *live at discretion*. Their ideas of *discretion* may easily be conceived, and accordingly the unhappy protestants were exposed to every species of suffering which lust, avarice, cruelty, bigotry, and brutality can engender in the breasts of an ignorant, depraved, and infuriated soldiery, absolved from all restraint, and left to the diabolical promptings of their worst passions, whose flames were fanned by the assurances of the bishops, priests, and friars, that they were fulfilling a sacred duty, by punishing the enemies of God and religion.

An order was issued by the king, for the demolition of the protestant churches, and the banishment

of the protestant ministers. Many other reformers were also ordered to leave the kingdom in a few days ; and we are told by Monsieur Claude, the celebrated author of "*Les Plaintes des Protestans*," who was himself banished at this time, that the most frivolous pretexts were employed to detain those who were about to quit France, so that by remaining in that country beyond the time allowed by the edict, they might be sent to the galleys as a punishment for infringing an order which they were thus prevented from complying with.

On the whole, more than five hundred thousand persons escaped or were banished. And these industrious citizens, whom the blind bigotry of a besotted tyrant had driven from their native land, found shelter and protection in England, Germany, and other countries, which they amply repaid by the introduction of many useful arts and processes ; in particular, it is to them that the people of Great Britain are indebted for the commencement of the silk manufacture in that country.

In the mean while, those who either were purposely detained, or were unable to escape, were condemned to the galleys ; and after being imprisoned in the most horrible dungeons, and fed only on bread and water, and that very scantily, were marched off, in large bodies, handcuffed, and chained together, from one extremity of the kingdom to another. Their sufferings during this dreadful journey were indescribable. They were exposed to every vicissitude of weather, almost without covering ; and frequently, in the midst of winter, were obliged to pass the nights on the bare earth, fainting from hunger and thirst, agonized by disease, and writhing from the lash of their merciless conductors. The consequence was, that scarcely half the original number reached their place of destination ; those who did, were immediately exposed to new sufferings and additional calamities.

They were put on board the galleys, where they were subjected to the absolute control of the most inhuman and barbarous wretches who ever disgraced the human form. The labour of rowing, as performed in the galleys, is described as being the most excessive that can be imagined; and the sufferings of the poor slaves were increased many fold by the scourgings inflicted on them by their savage taskmasters. The recital of their miseries is too horrible to be dwelt upon : we shall therefore pass to that period when the Lord, of his infinite mercy, gave ear to the cries of his afflicted servants, and graciously raised them up a deliverer in Anne, queen of England, who, filled with compassion for the unhappy fate of so many of her fellow-protestants, ordered her ambassador at the court of France to make a spirited remonstrance in their favour, which Louis, whose affairs were then in a very critical situation, was under the necessity of complying with ; and he accordingly despatched orders to all the seaports for the immediate release of every galley-slave condemned for his religion.

When this order was received at Marseilles, where the majority of the protestants were detained, the priests, and most particularly the Jesuits, were much chagrined at the prospect of thus losing their victims, and determined to use all means in their power to prevent the order from being carried into effect. They prevailed on the intendant, a violent and cruel bigot, to delay its execution for eight days, till they could receive an answer to an address which they immediately despatched to the king, exhorting him to abandon his intention of releasing the *heretics*, and representing the dreadful judgments which, they asserted, might be expected to fall on himself and his kingdom, as the punishment of so great a dereliction from his duty as the *eldest son of the church*. At least they desired, if his majesty were determined to release the protestants, that he would not allow them

to remain in, or even pass through, France; but would compel them to leave the ports by sea, and never again to enter his dominions, on pain of revisiting the galleys.

Although Louis could not comply with the first part of the petition of these truly papistical bigots, the latter part was too congenial to his own inclinations to be rejected. The protestants were ordered to sail from the ports at which they had been confined; and the difficulty of obtaining vessels for their conveyance, which the malignant priests used all their arts to augment, occasioned a long delay, during which the poor prisoners were suffering all the agonies of uncertainty—that “hope deferred, which maketh the heart sick,”—and which led them to fear that something might still intervene to prevent their so much desired emancipation. But their heavenly Father, ever mindful of those who suffer for his sake, at length removed every obstacle which bigotry and malice could interpose, and delivered them from the hand of the oppressor. They went forth rejoicing, praising and blessing His holy name, who had wrought for them this great deliverance.

A deputation of those who had been released by the interposition of queen Anne, waited upon her majesty in London, to return their most grateful thanks, on behalf of themselves and their brethren, for her Christian interference in their favour. She received them very graciously, and assured them that she derived more pleasure from the consciousness of having lessened the miseries of her fellow-protestants than from the most brilliant events of her reign.

These exiles also established themselves in England, which by their industry and ingenuity acquired new riches every day, while France, by expelling them, received a blow from which her commercial and trading interests never recovered. Thus, even on earth, did the Almighty punish the bigoted and cruel, and reward the pious and beneficent. But

how fearful shall be the judgment of the persecutors in that great day when every action shall be weighed in the balance of Eternal Justice ! How awful the denunciation—"Depart from me, ye cursed ! I know you not !" Will the plea of *religious zeal* be then allowed ? Will not the true motives of their barbarity be exposed to Him "from whom no secret is hid ?" Undoubtedly they will ; and lamentably ignorant are they of the genuine spirit of Christianity, who imagine that cruelty and persecution form any part of it. Let them look to the conduct of its Divine Founder ; to his meekness, his charity, his universal benevolence ; let them consider these, and blush to call themselves his followers ; and tremble at the doom which his justice will award to those who have perverted his maxims of mercy and peace into denunciations of hostility and extirpation.

BOOK IX.

Containing a brief history of the Reformation, and the remarkable circumstances which preceded it, from the time of Wickliffe to the reign of queen Mary.

SECTION I.

PARTICULARS RELATIVE TO THE GREAT ASCENDENCY OF THE POPES THROUGHOUT CHRISTENDOM, IN THE MIDDLE AGES.

The year 606 marks the date of the supremacy of the Roman pontiffs. From this period till the tenth century, the power and influence of the Roman hierarchy continued gradually to increase and extend ; but from this latter date till the reformation which was attempted by Wickliffe, about the year A. D. 1350, that power and influence extended with more rapid strides, till at length all the sovereigns of Eu-

rope were compelled to do homage to the lordly sway of his "Holiness."

To relate the tyrannical innovations upon the religion of Christ from the tenth to the middle of the thirteenth century, would be incompatible with our limits.

Suffice it to say, that scarcely a foreign war or civil broil convulsed Europe during that period, which did not originate in the artifices of popes, monks, and friars. They frequently fell victims to their own machinations; for, from the year 1004, many popes died violent deaths: several were poisoned; Sylvester was cut to pieces by his own people; and the reigns of his successors were but short. Benedict, who succeeded John XXI., thought proper to resist the emperor Henry III., and place in his room Peter, king of Hungary; but afterwards being alarmed by the success of Henry, he *sold* his seat to Gratianus, called Gregory VI. At this time there were three popes in Rome, all striving against each other for the supreme power, viz.: Benedict IX., Sylvester III., and Gregory VI. But the emperor Henry, coming to Rome, displaced these three monsters at once, and appointed Clement the Second, enacting that henceforth no bishop of Rome should be chosen but by the consent of the emperor. Though this law was necessary for public tranquillity, yet it interfered too much with the ambitious views of the cardinals, who accordingly exerted themselves to get it repealed; and failing in this, on the departure of the emperor for Germany, they poisoned Clement, and at once violated the law by choosing another pope without the imperial sanction.

This was Damasus II., who being also poisoned within a few days from his appointment, much contention took place. Whereupon the Romans sent to the emperor, desiring him to give them a bishop; upon which he selected Bruno, a German, called Leo IX. This pope was also poisoned in the first year of his popedom.

After his death Theophylactus made an effort to be pope, but Hilderbrand, to defeat him, went to the emperor, and persuaded him to assign another bishop, a German, who ascended the papal chair under the title of Victor II.

The second year of his papacy, this pope also followed his predecessors, like them being poisoned.

On the death of Victor, the cardinals elected Stephen IX. for pope, contrary to their oath, and the emperor's assignment. From this period, indeed, their ascendancy was so great, that the most powerful sovereigns of Europe were obliged to do them homage : and Nicholas, who succeeded Stephen, established the council of the Lateran.

In this council first was promulgated the terrible sentence of excommunication against all such as "do creep into the seat of Peter by money or favour, without the full consent of the cardinals ;" cursing them and their children with the anger of Almighty God ; and giving authority and power to cardinals, with the clergy and laity, to depose all such persons, and call a council-general, wheresoever they will, against them.

Pope Nicholas only reigned three years and a half, and then, like his predecessors, was poisoned.

Submission of the Emperor Henry IV. to the Pope.

To such a height had papal insolence now attained, that, on the emperor Henry IV. refusing to submit to some decrees of pope Gregory VII., the latter excommunicated him, and absolved all his subjects from their oath of allegiance to him : on this he was deserted by his nobility, and, dreading the consequences, though a brave man, he found it necessary to make his submission. He accordingly repaired to the city of Canusium, where the pope then was, (A. D. 1077,) and went barefooted with his wife and child to the gate ; where he remained from morning to night, fasting, humbly desiring absolution, and crav-

ing to be let in. But no ingress being given him, he continued thus three days together; at length, answer came, that his holiness had yet no leisure to talk with him. The emperor patiently waited without the walls, although in the depth of winter. At length his request was granted, through the entreaties of Matilda, the pope's paramour. On the fourth day, being let in, for a token of his true repentance, he yielded to the pope's hands his crown, and confessed himself unworthy of the empire, if he ever again offended against the pope, desiring for that time to be absolved and forgiven. The pope answered, he would neither forgive him, nor release the bond of his excommunication, but upon condition that he would abide by his arbitrement in the council, and undergo such penance as he should enjoin him; that he should answer to all objections and accusations laid against him, and that he should never seek revenge; that it should be at the pope's pleasure, whether his kingdom should be restored or not. Finally, that before the trial of his cause, he should neither use his kingly ornaments, nor usurp the authority to govern, nor exact any oath of allegiance from his subjects, &c. These things being promised to the pope by an oath, the emperor only was released from excommunication.

King John surrenders his crown to the Pope.

The ascendancy of the popes was never more fully evinced than by a remarkable fact in the history of England. King John, having incurred the hatred of his barons and people by his cruel and tyrannical measures, they took arms against him, and offered the crown to Louis, son of the French king. By seizing the possessions of the clergy, John had also fallen under the displeasure of the pope, who accordingly laid the kingdom under an interdict, and absolved his subjects from their allegiance. Alarmed at this the tyrant earnestly sued for peace with his holiness

hoping, by his mediation, to obtain favourable terms from the barons, or, by his thunders, to terrify them into submission. He made the most abject supplications, and the pope, ever willing to increase the power of the church, sent cardinal Pandulf as legate to the king at Canterbury, to whom John resigned his crown and dominions ; and the cardinal, after retaining the crown five days, in token of possession, returned it to the king, on condition of his making a yearly payment of 1000 marks to the court of Rome, and holding the dominions of England and Ireland *in form* from the pope.

But if John expected any benefit from this most disgraceful transaction, he was disappointed : and instead of enjoying the crown which he had so basely surrendered and received again, the short remainder of his life was disturbed by continual insurrections, and he at last died either of grief, or by poison administered to him by a monk of Swineshead in Lincolnshire. The latter cause is assigned by many historians, and we are told that the king, suspecting some fruit which was presented to him at the above convent to be poisoned, ordered the monk who brought it to eat of it ; which he did, and died in a few hours after.

An Emperor trodden on by the Pope.

The papal usurpations were extended to every part of Europe. In Germany, the emperor Frederic was compelled to submit to be trodden under the feet of pope Alexander, and dared not make any resistance. In England, however, a spirit of resentment broke out in various reigns, in consequence of the oppressions and horrible conduct of those anti-christian blasphemers, which continued with more or less violence till the time of the great Wickliffe, of whom we shall speak more fully in the following pages.

SECTION II.

ACCOUNT OF WICKLIFFE, AND OF THE MARTYRS WHO
SUFFERED IN DEFENCE OF HIS DOCTRINES.

The first attempts made in England towards the reformation of the church, took place in the reign of Edward III., about A. D. 1350, when John Wickliffe appeared. This early star of the English church was public reader of divinity in the university of Oxford, and, by the learned of his day, was accounted deeply versed in theology, and all kinds of philosophy. At the time of his appearance, the greatest darkness pervaded the church. Scarcely any thing but the name of Christ remained ; his true doctrine being as far unknown to the most part, as his name was common to all. As to faith, consolation, the end and use of the law, the office of Christ, our impotency and weakness, the greatness and strength of sin, of true works, grace, and free justification by faith, wherein Christianity consists, they were either unknown or disregarded. Scripture learning and divinity were known but to a few, and that in the schools only, where they were turned and converted into sophistry. Instead of Peter and Paul, men occupied their time in studying Aquinas and Scotus ; and, forsaking the lively power of God's spiritual word and doctrine, were altogether led and blinded with outward ceremonies and human traditions, insomuch that scarcely any other thing was seen in the churches, taught or spoken of in sermons, or intended or sought after in their whole lives, but the heaping up of ceremonies upon ceremonies ; and the people were taught to worship no other thing but that which they saw, and almost all they saw they worshipped. But Wickliffe was inspired with a purer sense of religion ; and knowing it to be his duty to impart the gracious blessing to others, he published his belief with regard to the several articles of religion, in which he

differed from the common doctrine. Pope Gregory XI. hearing this, condemned some of his tenets, and commanded the archbishop of Canterbury, and the bishop of London, to oblige him to subscribe the condemnation of them; and, in case of refusal, to summon him to Rome. This commission could not easily be executed, Wickliffe having powerful friends, the chief of whom was John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, son of Edward III. The archbishop holding a synod at St. Paul's, Wickliffe appeared, accompanied by the duke of Lancaster and Lord Percy, marshal of England, when a dispute arising whether Wickliffe should answer sitting or standing, the duke of Lancaster proceeded to threats, and treated the bishop with very little ceremony. The people present, thinking the bishop in danger, sided with him, so that the duke and the marshal thought it prudent to retire, and to take Wickliffe with them. After this an insurrection ensued, the clergy and their emissaries spreading a report that the duke of Lancaster had persuaded the king to take away the privileges of the city of London, &c., which fired the people to such a degree, that they broke open the Marshalsea, and freed all the prisoners; and not contented with this, a vast number of them went to the duke's palace in the Savoy, when missing his person, they plundered his house. For this outrage, the duke of Lancaster caused the lord mayor and aldermen to be removed from their offices, imagining they had not used their authority to quell the mutineers. After this, the bishops meeting a second time, Wickliffe explained to them his sentiments with regard to the sacrament of the eucharist, in opposition to the belief of the papists; for which the bishops only enjoined him silence, not daring, at that time, to proceed to greater extremities against him.

Great Schism in the Church of Rome.

A circumstance occurred at this period, by the providence of God, which greatly tended to facilitate

the progress of truth. This was a great schism in the church of Rome, which originated as follows: After the death of Gregory XI., who expired in the midst of his anxiety to crush Wickliffe and his doctrines, Urban the Sixth succeeded to the papal chair. This pope was so proud and insolent, and so intent on the advancement of his nephews and kindred, which he frequently accomplished by injuring other princes, that the greatest number of his cardinals and courtiers deserted him, and set up another pope against him, named Clement, who reigned eleven years. After him, Benedict the Thirteenth, who reigned twenty-six years. Again, on the contrary side, after Urban the Sixth, succeeded Boniface the Ninth, Innocent the Eighth, Gregory the Twelfth, Alexander the Fifth, and John the Thirteenth. To relate all the particulars of this miserable schism would require volumes; we shall merely take notice of a few of the principal occurrences, from which the reader may form an idea of the bloodshed and misery brought on the Christian world by the ambition and wickedness of these pretended representatives of our blessed Saviour; and may judge how widely they departed from his blessed maxims of peace and good will to all men. Otho, duke of Brunswick and prince of Tarentum, was taken and murdered. Joan, his wife, queen of Jerusalem and Sicily, who had sent to pope Urban, besides other gifts, 40,000 ducats in gold, was afterwards, by his order, committed to prison, and there strangled. Many cardinals were racked and tortured to death; battles were fought between the rival popes, in which great multitudes were slain. Five cardinals were beheaded together, after long torments. The bishop of Aquilonensis, being suspected by pope Urban, for not riding faster when in his company, was slain on the spot by the pope's order. Thus did these demons in human form torment each other for the space of thirty-nine years, until the council of Constance.

Wickliffe translates the Bible.

Wickliffe, paying less regard to the injunctions of the bishops than to his duty to God, continued to promulgate his doctrines, and gradually to unveil the truth to the eyes of men. He wrote several books, which, as may be supposed, gave great alarm and offence to the clergy. But God raising him up a protector in the duke of Lancaster, he was secure from their malice. He translated the Bible into English, which, amidst the ignorance of the times, may be compared to the sun breaking forth in a dark night. To this Bible he prefixed a bold preface, wherein he reflected on the immoralities of the clergy, and condemned the worship of saints, images, and the corporal presence of Christ in the sacrament: but what gave the greatest offence to the priests was, his exhorting all people to read the scriptures, in which the testimonies against all those corruptions appeared so strongly.

About the same time the common people, goaded to desperation by the oppressions of the nobility and clergy, rose in arms, and committed great devastations; and, among other persons of distinction, they put to death Simon of Sudbury, archbishop of Canterbury. He was succeeded by William Courtney, who was no less diligent than his predecessor had been, in attempting to root out *heretics*. Notwithstanding all opposition, however, Wickliffe's sect increased, and daily grew to greater force, until the time that William Barton, vice-chancellor of Oxford, who had the whole rule of that university, assisted by some monastic doctors, issued an edict, prohibiting all persons, under a heavy penalty, from associating themselves with any of Wickliffe's favourers; and threatening Wickliffe himself with excommunication and imprisonment, unless he, after three days canonical admonition or warning, did repent and amend. Upon this, Wickliffe wished to appeal to the king: but the duke of Lancaster forbade him;

whereupon he was forced again to make confession of his doctrine; in which confession, by qualifying his assertions, he mitigated the rigour of his enemies.

Still his followers greatly multiplied. Many of them, indeed, were not men of learning; but being wrought upon by the conviction of plain reason, they were the more steadfast in their persuasion. In a short time his doctrines made a great progress, being not only espoused by vast numbers of the students of Oxford, but also by many of the nobility, particularly by the Duke of Lancaster and Lord Percy, earl marshal, as before mentioned.

Wickliffe may thus be considered as the great founder of the reformation in England. He was of Merton college in Oxford, where he took his doctor's degree, and became so eminent for his fine genius and great learning, that Simon Islip, archbishop of Canterbury, having founded Canterbury college, now Christ Church, in Oxford, appointed him rector; which employment he filled with universal approbation, till the death of the archbishop. Langholm, successor to Islip, being desirous of favouring the monks, and introducing them into the college, attempted to remove Wickliffe, and put Woodhall, a monk, in his place. But the fellows of the college, being attached to Wickliffe, would not consent to this. Nevertheless, the affair being carried to Rome, Wickliffe was deprived in favour of Woodhall. This did not at all lessen the reputation of the former, every one perceiving it was a general affair, and that the monks did not so much strike at Wickliffe's person, as at all the secular priests who were members of the college. And, indeed, they were all turned out, to make room for the monks. Shortly after, Wickliffe was presented to the living of Lutterworth, in the county of Leicester, where he remained unmolested till his death, which happened December 31, 1385. But after the body of this good man had lain in the grave forty-one years, his bones were taken up by

the decree of the synod of Constance, publicly burnt, and his ashes thrown into a river. The condemnation of his doctrine did not prevent its spreading all over the kingdom, and with such success, that, according to Spelman, "two men could not be found together, and one not a Lollard or Wickliffite."

Burning of the Wickliffites.

In the council of Lateran, a decree was made with regard to heretics, which required all magistrates to extirpate them upon pain of forfeiture and deposition. The canons of this council being received in England, the prosecution of the heretics became a part of the common law; and a writ (styled *de heretico comburendo*) was issued under king Henry IV. for burning them upon their conviction; and it was enacted, that all who presumed to preach without the license of the bishops, should be imprisoned, and brought to trial within three months. If, upon conviction, they offered to abjure, and were not relapses, they were to be imprisoned and fined at pleasure; but if they refused to abjure, or were relapses, they were to be delivered over to the secular arm; and the magistrates were to burn them in some public place. About this time, William Sautre, parish priest of St. Osith in London, being condemned as a relapse, and degraded by Arundel, archbishop of Canterbury, a writ was issued, wherein burning is called the common punishment, and referring to the customs of other nations. This was the first example of that sort in England.

The clergy, alarmed lest the doctrines of Wickliffe should ultimately become established, used every exertion in their power to check them. In the reign of Richard II., the bishops had obtained a general license to imprison heretics, without being obliged to procure a special order from court, which, however, the House of Commons caused to be revoked. But as the fear of imprisonment could not check the

pretended evil dreaded by the bishops, Henry IV., whose particular object was to secure the affection of the clergy, earnestly recommended to the parliament the concerns of the church. How reluctant soever the House of Commons might be to prosecute the Lollards, the credit of the court, and the cabals of the clergy, at last obtained a most detestable act, for burning of obstinate heretics ; which bloody statute was not repealed till the year 1677. It was immediately after the passing of this statute, that the ecclesiastical court condemned William Sautre above mentioned.

Increase of Wickliffe's Doctrine.

Notwithstanding the opposition of the popish clergy, Wickliffe's doctrine continued to spread greatly in Henry the IVth's reign, even to such a degree, that the majority of the House of Commons were inclined to it ; whence they presented two petitions to the king, one against the clergy, the other in favour of the Lollards. The first set forth, that the clergy made ill use of their wealth, and consumed their income in a manner quite different from the intent of the donors. That their revenues were excessive, and, consequently, that it would be necessary to lessen them ; that so many estates might easily be seized as would provide for 150 earls, at the rate of 3,000 marks a year each, 1,500 barons, at 100 marks each, 6,200 knights, at 40 marks, and 100 hospitals ; that by this means the safety of the kingdom might be better provided for, the poor better maintained, and the clergy more devoted to their duty. In the second petition, the commons prayed, that the statute passed against the Lollards, in the second year of this reign, might be repealed, or qualified with some restrictions. As it was the king's interest to please the clergy, he answered the commons very sharply, that he neither could nor would consent to their petitions. And with regard to the Lollards, he declared he wished the

heretics were extirpated out of the land. To prove the truth of this, he signed a warrant for burning Thomas Badby.

SECTION III.

PROGRESS OF THE REFORMATION IN THE REIGN OF HENRY VIII.

The reader will, doubtless, attend to the transactions recorded in this reign with peculiar interest. It was in this period that God, through the instrumentality of the king, liberated England from the papal yoke, and made this country, as it were, a religious world dependant on itself.

The wars between the two houses of York and Lancaster had produced such fatal revolutions, and thrown England into such frequent convulsions, that the nation, with great joy, hailed the accession of Henry the Seventh to the throne, who being himself descended from the house of Lancaster, by his marriage with the heiress of the house of York, freed them from the fear of any other civil wars. But the covetousness of his temper, the severity of his ministers, and his jealousy of the house of York, made him so generally odious to his people, that his death was little lamented.

Henry the Eighth succeeded, A. D. 1509, with all the advantages he could have desired ; and his disgracing Empson and Dudley, the cruel ministers of his father's avaricious designs, his appointing restitution to be made of the sums that had been unjustly exacted of the people, and his ordering justice to be done on those rapacious ministers, gave all people hopes of happy times ; and when ministers by the king's orders were condemned and executed for invading the liberties of the people, under the covert of the king's prerogative, it made the nation conclude, that they should hereafter live secure, under

the protection of such a prince, and that the violent remedies of parliamentary judgments should be no more necessary, except, as in this case, to confirm what had been done before in the ordinary courts of justice.

The king also, either from the munificence of his own temper, or the observation he had made of the ill effects of his father's parsimony, distributed his rewards and largesses with an unmeasured bounty: so that he quickly expended those treasures which his father had left; but till the ill effects of this appeared, it raised in his court and subjects the greatest hopes possible of a prince, whose first actions showed an equal mixture of justice and generosity.

Character of Cardinal Wolsey.

One of the most remarkable men of this, or perhaps of any other age, was Cardinal Wolsey. He was of mean extraction, but possessed great abilities, and had a wonderful dexterity in insinuating himself into men's favour. He had but a little time been introduced to the king before he obtained an entire ascendancy over him, and the direction of all his affairs, and for fifteen years continued to be the most absolute favourite ever known in England. He saw the king was much set on his pleasures, and had a great aversion to business, and the other counsellors, being unwilling to bear the load of affairs, were troublesome to him, by pressing him to govern by his own counsels; but Wolsey knew the methods of favourites better, and so was not only easy, but assistant to the king in his pleasures, and undertook to free him from the trouble of government, and to give him leisure to follow his appetites.

He was master of all the offices at home, and treaties abroad, so that all affairs went as he directed them. He soon became obnoxious to parliaments, and therefore tried but one during his ministry, where the supply was granted so scantily, that afterwards

he chose rather to raise money by loans and benevolences, than by the free gift of the people in parliament. He in time became so scandalous for his ill life, that he grew to be a disgrace to his profession ; for he not only served the king, but also shared with him in his pleasures. He was first made bishop of Tournay in Flanders, then of Lincoln, after that he was promoted to the see of York, and had both the abbey of St. Albans and the bishopric of Bath and Wells in commendam ; the last he afterwards exchanged for Duresm, and upon Fox's death, he quitted Duresm, that he might take Winchester ; and besides all this, the king, by a special grant, gave him power to dispose of all the ecclesiastical preferments in England ; so that in effect he was the pope of the British world, and no doubt but he copied skilfully enough after those patterns that were set him at Rome. Being made a cardinal, and setting up a legatine court, he found it fit for his ambition to have the great seal likewise, that there might be no clashing between those two jurisdictions. He had, in one word, all the qualities necessary for a great minister, and all the vices usual in a great favourite.

Persecution of the Lollards.

In the beginning of this reign, several persons were brought into the bishops' courts for heresy, or Lollardism. Forty-eight were accused : but of these, forty-three abjured, twenty-seven men and sixteen women, most of them being of Tenderden : and five of them, four men and one woman, were condemned ; some as obstinate heretics, and others as relapses : and, against the common laws of nature, the woman's husband, and her two sons, were brought as witnesses against her. Upon their conviction, a certificate was made by the archbishop to the chancery : upon which, since there is no pardon upon record, the writs for burning them must have been issued in course, and the execution of them is little to be

doubted. The articles objected to them were, that they believed that in the eucharist there was nothing but material bread; that the sacraments of baptism, confirmation, confession, matrimony, and extreme unction, were neither necessary nor profitable; that priests had no more power than laymen; that pilgrimages were not meritorious, and that the money and labour spent in them were spent in vain; that images ought not to be worshipped, and that they were only stocks and stones; that prayers ought not to be made to saints, but only to God; that there was no virtue in holy water, or holy bread. By this it will appear, that many in this nation were prepared to receive those doctrines which were afterwards preached by the reformers, even before Luther began first to oppose indulgences.

Progress of Luther's doctrine.

The rise and progress of the doctrines of Luther are well known; the scandalous sale of indulgences gave the first occasion to all that followed between him and the church of Rome; in which, had not the corruptions and cruelties of the clergy been so visible and scandalous, so small a cause could never have produced so great a revolution.

The bishops were grossly ignorant; they seldom resided in their diocesses, except on great festivals; and all the effect their residence at such times could have, was to corrupt others by their ill example. They attached themselves to princes, and aspired to the greatest offices. The abbots and monks were wholly given up to luxury and idleness; and their unmarried state gave infinite scandal to the world; for it appeared that the restraining them from having wives of their own, made them conclude that they had a right to all other men's. The inferior clergy were no better; and not having places of retreat to conceal their vices in, as the monks had, they became more public. In short, all ranks of churchmen

was so universally despised and hated, that the world was very easily possessed with prejudice against the doctrines of men whom they knew to be capable of every vice; and the worship of God was so defiled with gross superstition, that all men were easily convinced, that the church stood in great need of a reformation. This was much increased when the books of the fathers began to be read, in which the difference between the former and latter ages of the church did very evidently appear. It was found that a blind superstition came first in the room of true piety; and when by its means the wealth and interest of the clergy were highly advanced, the popes had upon that established their tyranny; under which all classes of people had long groaned. All these things concurred to make way for the advancement of the reformation; and the books of the German reformers being brought into England, and translated, many were prevailed on by them. Upon this, a furious persecution was set on foot, to such a degree, that six men and women were burnt in Coventry in passion-week, only for teaching their children the creed, the Lord's prayer, and the ten commandments in English. Great numbers were every where brought into the bishops' courts; of whom some were burnt, but the greater part abjured.

The king laid hold on this occasion to become the champion of the church, and wrote against Lutner. His book, besides the title of "Defender of the Faith," drew upon him all that flattery could invent to extol it; yet Luther, not daunted by such an antagonist, answered it, and treated him as much below the respect that was due to a king, as his flatterers had raised him above it. Tindal's translation of the New Testament, with notes, drew a severe condemnation from the clergy, there being nothing in which they were more concerned, than to keep the people unacquainted with that book. Thus much may serve to show the condition of affairs in Eng-

land, both in church and state, when the process of the king's divorce was first set on foot.

History of Henry's marriage with Catherine.

As this incident is so replete with consequences, a particular relation of its causes will not, it is presumed, be unacceptable to the reader.

Henry the Seventh had entered into a firm alliance with Ferdinand of Spain, and agreed on a match between his son prince Arthur, and Catherine the Infanta of Spain. She came into England, and was married in November; but on the second of April after, the prince died. They were not only bedded in ceremony the night of the marriage, but continued still to lodge together; and the prince gave occasion to believe that the marriage was consummated.

The king being unwilling to restore so great a portion as 200,000 ducats, which the princess brought as her dowry, proposed a second match for her with his younger son Henry. Warham objected against the lawfulness of it; but Fox, bishop of Winchester, was for it, and the opinion of the pope's authority was then so well established, that it was thought a dispensation from Rome was sufficient to remove all objections. Accordingly, one was obtained, grounded upon the desire of the two young persons to marry together, for the preservation of peace between the crowns of England and Spain.

The pope was then at war with Lewis the Twelfth of France, and so would refuse nothing to the king of England, being perhaps not unwilling that princes should contract such marriages, by which the legitimation of their issue depending on the pope's dispensation, they would be thereby obliged in interest to support that authority. Upon this a marriage followed, the prince being yet under age; but the same day in which he came to be of age, he did, by his father's orders, make a protestation that he retracted and annulled his marriage.

Henry the Seventh, on his death-bed, charged his son to break it off entirely, being perhaps apprehensive of such a return of confusion upon a controverted succession to the crown, as had been during the wars of the houses of York and Lancaster ; but after his father's death, Henry the Eighth, being then eighteen years of age, married her : she bore him two sons, who died soon after they were born ; and a daughter, Mary, afterwards queen of England. After this the queen contracted some diseases that made her unacceptable to the king ; who, at the same time, beginning to have some scruples of conscience with regard to the lawfulness of his marriage, determined to have the affair investigated.

The King's scruples concerning his Marriage.

He seemed to lay the greatest weight on the prohibition in the Levitical law, of marrying the brother's wife, and being conversant in Thomas Aquinas's writings, he found that he and the other schoolmen looked on those laws as moral, and forever binding ; and consequently the pope's dispensation was of no force, since his authority went not so far as to dispense with the laws of God. All the bishops of England, Fisher of Rochester only excepted, declared under their hands and seals, that they judged the marriage unlawful. The ill consequences of wars that might follow upon a doubtful title to the crown, were also much considered. It is not certain that Henry's affection for any other lady was the origin of these proceedings ; but whatever be the determination of this point, it is certain that about this time he gave free scope to his affections towards Anne Boleyn.

This lady was born in the year 1507, and at seven years of age was sent to France, where she remained twelve years, and then returned to England. She was much admired in both courts, was more beautiful than graceful, and more cheerful than discreet. She wanted none of the charms of wit or person, and

must have had extraordinary attractions, since she could so long retain her place in such a king's affection.

Knight, secretary of state, was sent to Rome to prepare the pope to grant a dispensation from the marriage, which the pope promised: but another promise being exacted of him by the emperor Charles V., nephew of Catherine, he was reduced to great straits; being then at the emperor's mercy, he wished the king's patience. The pope signed a commission for Wolsey to try the cause, but prayed that there might be nothing decided till he was out of the emperor's power.

Campegio came to England, and advised the king to relinquish the prosecution of his suit, and then counselled the queen, in the pope's name, to enter into a religious community; both were in vain, for neither followed his advice.

The queen at length appeals to the pope.

The king and court take great offence at the conduct of the pope's ambassador, Campegio, for his frequent delays, and the king dismissed him before any thing was done.

Account of Cranmer.

At this period, Dr. Cranmer, a fellow of Jesus' college in Cambridge, meeting accidentally with Gardiner and Fox at Waltham, and entering into discourse upon the royal marriage, suggested that the king should engage the chief universities and divines of Europe to examine the lawfulness of his marriage; and if they gave their resolutions against it, then, it being certain that the pope's dispensation could not derogate from the law of God, the marriage must be declared null. This novel and reasonable scheme they proposed to the king, who was much pleased with it, as he saw this way was better in itself, and would mortify the pope. Cranmer was accordingly sent for, and on conversing with him, the king con-

ceived a high opinion both of his learning and prudence, as well as of his probity and sincerity, which took such root in his mind, that no artifices nor calumnies were able to remove it.

Wolsey is disgraced.

From this moment began the decline of Wolsey. The great seal was taken from him, and given to Sir Thomas More : and he was sued in a præmunire, for having held the legitimate courts by a foreign authority, contrary to the laws of England : he confessed the indictment, pleaded ignorance, and submitted himself to the king's mercy.

The King marries Anne Boleyn.

Soon after this, the king married Anne Boleyn ; Rowland Lee (afterwards bishop of Coventry and Litchfield) officiated, none being present but the duke of Norfolk, and her father, mother, brother, and Cranmer. It was thought that the former marriage being null, the king might proceed to another : and perhaps they hoped, that as the pope had formerly proposed this method, so he would now approve of it. But though the pope had joined himself to France, yet he was still so much in fear of the emperor, that he dared not provoke him. A new citation was therefore issued out, for the king to answer to the queen's complaints ; but Henry's agents protested that their master was a sovereign prince, and England a free church, over which the pope had no just authority ; and that the king could expect no justice at Rome, where the emperor's power was so great.

The Parliament condemns appeals to Rome.

At this time the parliament met again, and passed an act, condemning all appeals to Rome ; and enacting that thenceforth all causes should be judged within the kingdom, and that sentences given in England were to have full effect : and all that executed

any censures from Rome, were to incur the pain of præmunire.

Cranmer made Archbishop of Canterbury.

Warham, archbishop of Canterbury, having died the preceding year, was succeeded by Cranmer, who was then in Germany, disputing in the king's cause with some of the emperor's divines. The king resolved to advance him to that dignity, and sent him word of it, that so he might make haste over : but a promotion so far above his thoughts, had not its common effects on him ; he had a true and primitive sense of so great a change ; and instead of aspiring to it, feared it ; and, returning very slowly to England, used all his endeavours to be excused from that advancement. Bulls were sent for to Rome, in order to his consecration, which the pope granted, and on the 30th of March, Cranmer was consecrated by the bishops of Lincoln, Exeter, and St. Asaph. The oath to the pope was of hard digestion to him. He therefore made a protestation, before he took it, that he conceived himself not bound by it in any thing that was contrary to his duty to God, to his king, or to his country ; and this he repeated when he took it.

Coronation of Anne Boleyn.

Some days after this, another judgment was given, confirming the king's marriage with queen Anne, and on the first of June she was crowned. All people admired her conduct, who, during so many years, managed the spirit of so violent a king in such a manner, as neither to surfeit him with too many favours, nor to provoke him with too much rigour. They that loved the reformation, looked for better days under her protection ; but many priests and friars, both in sermons and discourses, condemned the king's proceedings. Henry sent ambassadors to the various courts of Europe, to justify what he had done : he sent also to queen Catherine, charging her to assume

no other title than that of princess dowager ; but to this she refused obedience, saying, she would not take that infamy on herself ; and so resolved, that none should serve about her who did not treat her as queen.

At Rome the cardinals of the Imperial faction complained much of the attempt made on the pope's power, and urged him to proceed to censures. But there was only sentence given, annulling all that the archbishop of Canterbury had done ; and the king was required, under pain of excommunication, to place things again in the state in which they formerly were ; and this notification was affixed at Dunkirk. The king sent an embassy to the French monarch, who was then setting out to Marseilles, to meet the pope ; their errand was to dissuade him from the journey, unless the pope promised Henry satisfaction : Francis said, he was engaged in honour to go on ; but assured them, he would mind the king's concerns with as much zeal as if they were his own.

Birth of the Princess Elizabeth.

In September the queen brought forth a daughter, afterwards the renowned queen Elizabeth ; and the king having before declared lady Mary princess of Wales, did now the same for her ; though, since a son might exclude her from it, she could not be heir apparent, but only heir presumptive to the crown.

The eventful moment was now at hand, when the incident should take place that would cause the separation of England from the church of Rome. There was a secret agreement between the pope and Francis, that if king Henry would refer his cause to the consistory, excepting only the cardinals of the Imperial faction, as partial, and would in all other things return to his obedience to the see of Rome, the sentence should be given in his favour. When Francis returned to Paris, he sent over the bishop of that city to the king, to tell what he had obtained of the

pope in his favour, and the terms on which it was promised: this wrought so much on the king, that he presently consented to them: upon which, the bishop of Paris, though it was now in the middle of winter, went to Rome in consequence. Upon his arrival there, the matter seemed agreed; for it was promised, that upon the king's sending a promise under his hand to place things in their former state, and his ordering a proxy to appear for him, judges should be sent to Cambray for making the process, and then sentence should be given. Upon the notice given of this, and of a day fixed for the return of the courier, the king despatched him with all possible haste: and now the business seemed at an end. But the courier had the sea and the Alps to pass, and in winter it was not easy to observe a limited day so exactly. The appointed day came, and no courier arrived; upon which the imperialists gave out, that the king was abusing the pope's easiness; and pressed him vehemently to proceed to a sentence: the bishop of Paris requested only a delay of six days. But the design of the Imperialists was to hinder a reconciliation; for if the king had been set right with the pope, there would have been so powerful a league formed against the emperor, as would have frustrated all his measures: and therefore it was necessary for his politics to embroil them. Seduced by the artifice of this intriguing prince, the pope, contrary to his ordinary prudence, brought the matter before the consistory; and there the Imperialists having the majority, it was driven on with so much precipitation, that they did in one day, that which, according to form, should have occupied three.

They gave the final sentence, declared the king's marriage with queen Catherine good, and required him to live with her as his wife, otherwise they would proceed to censures. Two days after this, the courier came with the king's submission in due form; he also brought earnest letters from Francis in the king's

favour. This wrought on all the indifferent cardinals, as well as those of the French faction, so much that they prayed the pope to recall what was done. A new consistory was called; but the Imperialists urged, with greater vehemence than ever, that they would not give such scandal to the world as to recall a definitive sentence passed of the validity of a marriage, and give the heretics such advantages by their unsteadiness in matters of that nature; it was therefore carried, that the former sentence should take place, and the execution of it committed to the emperor. When this was known in England, it determined the king in his resolution of shaking off the papal yoke, in which he had made so great a progress, that the parliament had passed all the acts concerning it before he received the news from Rome; for he judged that the best way to secure his cause was to let Rome see his power, and with what vigour he could make war.

Arguments for rejecting the Pope's power.

In England the foundations on which the papal authority was built, had been examined with extraordinary care of late years; and several books were written on that subject. It was demonstrated that all the apostles were made equal in the powers that Christ gave them, and he often condemned their contests about superiority, but never declared in Peter's favour. Paul withstood him to his face, and reckoned himself not inferior to him. If the dignity of a person left any authority with the city in which he sat, then Antioch must carry it as well as Rome; and Jerusalem, where Christ suffered, was to be preferred to all the world, for it was truly the mother-church. The other privileges ascribed to Peter, were either only a precedence of order, or were occasioned by his fall, as that injunction, "Feed my sheep," it being a restoring him to the apostolical function. Peter had also a limited province, the cir-

cumcision, as Paul had the uncircumcision, of far greater extent: which showed that Peter was not considered as the universal pastor.

Several sees, as Ravenna, Milan, and Aquileia, pretended exemption from the papal authority. Many English bishops had asserted that the popes had no authority against the canons, and to that day no canon the pope made was binding till it was received; which showed the pope's authority was not believed to be founded on a divine authority: and the contests which the kings of England had had with the popes concerning investitures, bishops doing homage, appeals to Rome, and the authority of papal bulls and provisions, showed that the pope's power was believed to be subject to laws and custom, and so not derived from Christ and Peter; and as laws had given them some power, and princes had been forced in ignorant ages to submit to their usurpations, so they might, as they saw cause, change those laws, and resume their rights.

The next point inquired into was, the authority that kings had in matters of religion and the church. In the New Testament, Christ was himself subject to the civil powers, and charged his disciples not to affect temporal dominion. They also wrote to the churches to be subject to the higher powers, and call them supreme, and charge every soul to be subject to them: so in scripture the king is called head and supreme, and every soul is said to be under him, which joined together makes up this conclusion, that he is the supreme head over all persons. In the primitive church the bishops only made rules or canons, but pretended to no compulsive authority, but what came from the civil magistrate. Upon the whole matter they concluded that the pope had no power in England, and that the king had an entire dominion over all his subjects, which extended even to the regulation of ecclesiastical matters.

These questions being fully discussed in many disputes, and published in several books, all the bishops, abbots, and friars of England, Fisher only excepted, were so far satisfied with them, that they resolved to comply with the changes the king was resolved to make.

The Pope's power rejected by Parliament.

At the next meeting of parliament, there were but seven bishops and twelve abbots present, the rest being unwilling to concur in making this change, though they complied with it when it was made. Every Sunday during the session a bishop preached at St. Paul's, and declared that the pope had no authority in England: before this, they had only said that a general council was above them, and that the exactions of this court, and appeals to it, were unlawful: but now they went a strain higher, to prepare the people for receiving the acts then in agitation. On the 9th of March the commons began the bill for taking away the pope's power, and sent it to the lords on the 14th, who passed it on the 20th without any dissent. In it they set forth the exactions of the court of Rome, grounded on the pope's power of dispensing with the laws of the land; and that therefore such licenses or dispensations as were formerly in use, should be for the future granted by the two archbishops; some of these were to be confirmed under the great seal; and they appointed that thereafter all intercourse with Rome, on those subjects, should cease. They also declared that they did not intend to alter any article of the Catholic faith of Christendom, or of that which was declared in the scripture necessary to salvation. They confirmed all the exemptions granted to monasteries by the popes, but subjected them to the king's visitation, and gave the king and his council power to examine and reform all indulgences and privileges granted by the pope. This act subjected the monasteries en-

tirely to the king's authority, and put them in no small confusion. Those who loved the reformation rejoiced both to see the pope's power rooted out, and to find the scripture made the standard of religion.

After this act, another passed in both houses in six days time, without any opposition, settling the succession of the crown, confirming the sentence of divorce, and the king's marriage with queen Anne, and declaring all marriages within the degrees prohibited by Moses to be unlawful: all that had married within them were appointed to be divorced, and their issue illegitimated; and the succession to the crown was settled upon the king's issue by the present queen, or, in default of that, to the king's right heirs for ever. All were required to swear to maintain the contents of this act; and if any refused to swear to it, or should say any thing to the slander of the king's marriage, he was to be judged guilty of misprision of treason, and to be punished accordingly.

The Reformers favoured by the Court.

The nobility and gentry were generally well satisfied with the change in ecclesiastical affairs: but the body of the people, being more under the power of the priests, were filled with great fears on the subject. It was said, amongst them, that the king now joined himself to heretics; that the queen, Cranmer, and Cromwell, favoured them. It was left free to dispute what were articles of faith, and what were only the decrees of popes; and the most important changes might be made, under the pretence, that they only rejected those opinions which were supported by the papal authority.

The monks and friars saw themselves left at the king's mercy. Their bulls could be no longer useful to them. The trade of new saints, or indulgences, was now at an end; they had also some intimations that Cromwell was forming a project for suppressing them: as they thought it necessary for their

own preservation to embroil the king's affairs as much as it was possible: therefore, both in confessions and discourses, they laboured to infuse into the people a dislike of his proceedings: but these practices at home, and the intrigues of cardinal Pole abroad, the libels that were published, and the rebellions that were raised in England, wrought so much on the king's temper, naturally imperious and boisterous, that he became too prone to acts of severity, and this new title of *head of the church* seemed to have increased his former vanity, and made him fancy that all his subjects were bound to regulate their belief by the measures he set them. The bishops and abbots did what they could to free the king of any jealousies he might have of them; and of their own accord, before any law was made about it, swore to maintain his supremacy.

General visitation of the Monasteries.

It was well known that the monks and friars, though they complied with the time, yet hated this new power of the king's; the people were also startled at it: so one Dr. Leighton, who had been in Wolsey's service with Cromwell, proposed a general visitation of all religious houses in England; and thought that nothing would reconcile the nation so much to the king's supremacy, as to see some good effect flow from it. Others deemed this was too bold a step, and feared it would provoke the religious orders too much. Yet it was known that they were guilty of such disorders, as nothing could so effectually check as inquiry. Cranmer led the way to this by a metropolitan visitation, for which he obtained the king's license; he took care to see that the pope's name was struck out of all the offices of the church, and that the king's supremacy was generally acknowledged.

In October the general visitation of the monasteries was begun; and the visitors were instructed to

inquire, whether the houses had the full number according to their foundation? if they performed divine worship at the appointed hours? what exemptions they had? what were their statutes? how their superiors were chosen? whether they lived according to the severities of their orders? how their lands and revenues were managed? what hospitality was kept? what care was taken of the novices? what benefices were in their gift? and how they disposed of them? how the enclosures of the nunneries were kept? whether the nuns went abroad, or if men were admitted to come to them? how they employed their time? and what priests they had as their confessors?

The visitors were also ordered to deliver some injunctions in the king's name, as to his supremacy, and the act of succession; and were authorized to absolve every one from any rules or oaths of obedience to the pope.

They were also ordered to take care that the abbots should not have choice dishes, but plain tables for hospitality; and that the scriptures should be read at meals; that they should have daily lectures of divinity; and maintain some of every house at the university, and to require that the abbot of each monastery should instruct the monks in true religion, and show them that it did not consist in outward ceremonies, but in clearness of heart, purity of life, and the worshipping of God in spirit and truth. Rules were given about their revenues, and against admitting any under twenty years of age; and the visitors were empowered to punish offenders, or to bring them to answer before the visiter-general.

The visitors went over England, and found in many places monstrous disorders. The most horrible and disgusting crimes were found to be practised in many of the houses; and vice and cruelty were more frequently the inmates of these pretended *sanctuaries* than religion and piety. The report contained many abominable things, not fit to be mentioned: some of these were printed, but the greater part was lost.

The first house that was surrendered to the king was Langden, in Kent; the abbot of which was found in bed with a woman, who went in the habit of a lay brother. To prevent greater evil to himself, he and ten of his monks signed a resignation of their house to the king. Two other monasteries in the same county, Folkstone and Dover, followed their example. And in the following year, four others made the like surrenders.

Rebellions in Lincolnshire and in Yorkshire.

In October 20,000 rose in Lincolnshire; they complained of parliament suppressing many religious houses, of mean and ill counsellors, also of bad bishops. The king sent the duke of Suffolk to raise forces against them, and gave an answer to their petition, that "it belonged not to the rabble to direct princes what counsellors to choose;" they made farther demands, but they were all rejected by the king; he advised them to submit to his mercy, and on the 9th Dec. he signed a proclamation of pardon, without any restriction. As soon as this rebellion was quelled, the king went on more resolutely than ever in his design of suppressing the monasteries, for his late success in crushing so formidable a sedition made him less apprehensive of any new commotion; a new visitation was appointed, and many houses which had not been before dissolved, were now suppressed: one hundred and twenty-one houses were this year resigned to the king. In most houses the visiters made the monks sign a confession of their vices and disorders; some of them acknowledged their idleness, gluttony, and sensuality, and after all the king put some of the Romish clergy to death, for denying the supremacy of the king.

Impostures of Images and Relics discovered.

They disclosed to the world many impostures about pretended relics, and wonderful images, to

which pilgrimages had been made. At Reading was preserved the wing of an angel, who, according to the monks, brought over the point of the spear that pierced our Saviour's side; and as many pieces of the *real* cross were found, as when joined together would have made half a dozen.

The "Rood of Grace," at Boxley in Kent, had been much esteemed, and drawn many pilgrims to it, on account of its possessing the wonderful powers of bowing its head, rolling its eyes, smiling, and frowning, to the great astonishment and terror of the credulous multitude, who imputed it to a divine power: but all this was now discovered to be a cheat, and it was brought up to St. Paul's cross; where all the springs were shown by which its motions were governed.

At Hales, in Gloucestershire, some of the blood of Christ was shown in a vial; and it was believed none could see it who were in mortal sin. Those who could bestow liberal presents were, of course, gratified by being led to believe that they were in a state of grace. This miracle consisted in the blood of a duck renewed every week, put in a vial very thick on one side, and thin on the other; and either side turned towards the pilgrim, as the priests were satisfied or not with his oblations. Several other similar impostures were discovered, which contributed much to the undeceiving of the people.

The rich shrine of Thomas à Becket at Canterbury was destroyed, and an immense quantity of gold and precious stones, offered by the deluded victims of superstition in honour of that factious priest, and "saint after the pope's own heart," were confiscated and carried away.

When these proceedings were known at Rome, the pope immediately fulminated against the king all the thunders of his spiritual store-house; absolved his subjects from their allegiance, and his allies from their treaties with him; and exhorted all Christians

to make war against and extirpate him from the face of the earth. But the age of crusades was past, and this display of impotent malice produced only contempt in the minds of the king and his advisers, who steadily proceeded in the great work of reformation ; and, the translation of the Bible into English being now completed, it was printed, and ordered to be read in all churches, with permission for every person to read it, who might be so disposed.

But, notwithstanding the king's disagreement with the pope on many subjects, there was one point on which they were alike—they were both intolerant, furious bigots ; and while the former was excommunicated as a *heretic*, he was himself equally zealous in rooting out *heresy*, and burning all who presumed to depart from the standard of faith which he had established.

Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, strengthened this disposition of the king, and persuaded him, under the pretext of a zeal for religion, to persecute the Sacramentalists, or those who denied the corporeal presence in the sacrament.

The Act of the Six Articles.

The parliament accordingly met on the 28th of April, 1538 ; and, after long debates, passed what was called “a bill of religion,” containing six articles, by which it was declared, that the elements in the sacrament were the real body and blood of Christ ; that communion was necessary only in one kind ; that priests ought not to marry ; that vows of chastity ought to be observed ; that private masses were lawful and useful ; and that auricular confession was necessary.

This act gave great satisfaction to the popish party, and induced them to consent more readily to the act for suppressing the monasteries, which immediately followed ; by virtue of which, their total dissolution soon after took place. The king founded six new

bishoprics from a small portion of their immense revenues, and lavished the remainder on his profligate courtiers and favourites.

In 1540 a bill was passed for the suppression of the knights of St. John of Jerusalem, both in England and Ireland.

Queen Catherine was convicted of lewdness and debauchery, and beheaded February 14th, 1541.

After this the king contracted a sixth marriage with Catherine Parr, widow of Lord Latimer; but dreading the fate of her predecessors, she concealed her partiality for the true faith.

Attempts to suppress the Bible.

Great pains had been taken by the bishops to suppress the English Bible. The king refused to call it in, and they therefore complained much of the translation, which they wished to have condemned, and a new one promised, which might have been delayed during several years. Cranmer, perceiving that the Bible was the great eye-sore of the popish party, and that they were resolved to oppose it by all the means they could think of, procured an order from the king, referring the correction of the translation to the two universities. The bishops took this very ill, and all of them, except those of Ely and St. David's, protested against it.

Attempts to ruin Cranmer.

The chief thing now aimed at, by the whole popish party, was Cranmer's ruin. Gardiner employed many to infuse the belief into the king, that he gave the chief encouragement to heresy in England, and that it was in vain to lop off the branches, and leave the root still growing. The king, before this, would never hear the complaints that were made of him: but now, to be informed of the depth of his design, he was willing to make himself acquainted with all that was to be said against him.

Gardiner reckoned, that this point being gained, all the rest would follow ; and judging that the king was now alienated from him, more instruments and artifices than ever were made use of. A long paper, containing many particulars against both Cranmer and his chaplains, was put into the king's hands. Upon this the king sent for him ; and after he had complained much of the heresy in England, he said, he resolved to find out the chief promoter of it, and to make him an example.

Cranmer advised him first to consider well what heresy was, that so he might not condemn those as heretics, who maintained the true word of God against human inventions. Then the king told him frankly, that he was the man complained of, as most guilty ; and showed him all the informations that he had received against him.

Cranmer avowed that he was still of the same mind as when he opposed the six articles, and submitted himself to a trial ; he confessed many things to the king : in particular, that he had a wife ; but he said he had sent her out of England, when the act of the six articles was passed ; and expressed so great a sincerity, and put so entire a confidence in the king, that, instead of being ruined, he was now better established with him than ever.

The king commanded him to appoint some persons to examine the contrivance that had been laid to destroy him ; he answered, that it was not decent for him to nominate any to judge in a cause, in which himself was concerned ; but the king being positive, he named some to go about it, and the whole secret was discovered. It appeared that Gardiner and Dr. Loudon had been the chief instruments, and had encouraged informers to appear against him. Cranmer did not press the king for any reparation ; for he was so noted for his readiness to forgive injuries, and to return good for evil, that it was commonly said, the best way to obtain his favour, was to do him an in-

jury ; of this he gave signal instances at this time, both in relation to the clergy and laity ; by which it appeared that he was actuated by that meek and lowly spirit which becomes all the followers of Christ, but more particularly one, who was so great an instrument in reforming the Christian religion ; and did, by such eminent acts of charity, show that he himself practised that which he taught others to do.

A parliament was now called, in which an act providing for the succession of the crown was passed. By it prince Edward and his heirs, or the heirs of the king's present marriage, were to succeed on the decease of the king ; after them the lady Mary and lady Elizabeth ; and in case they had no issue, or did not observe such limitations or conditions as the king should appoint, then it was to fall to any other whom the king should name, either by his letters patent, or by his last will signed with his hand. An oath was appointed both against the pope's supremacy, and for the maintaining the succession according to this act, which all are required to take, under the pains of treason. It was made treason to say or write any thing contrary to this act, or to the slander of any of the king's heirs named in it.

Another bill was passed, qualifying the severity of the six articles ; by which it was enacted that none should be imprisoned but upon a legal presentment, except upon the king's warrant. None was to be challenged for words spoken, except the accusation were brought within a year after the commission of the offence ; nor for a sermon, but within forty days. This was made to prevent such conspiracies as had been discovered during the former year.

Another act was passed, renewing the authority given to thirty-two commissioners to reform the ecclesiastical law, which Cranmer promoted much ; and to advance so good a purpose, he drew out of the canon law, a collection of many things against

the regal, and for the papal authority, with several other very extravagant propositions, to show how improper it was to let a book, in which such things were, continue still in any credit in England: but he could not bring this to any good issue. A general pardon also was granted, out of which heresy was excepted.

Audley, the chancellor, dying at this time, Wriothesly, who was of the popish party, was put in his place: and Dr. Petre, Cranmer's friend, was made secretary of state: so equally did the king keep the balance between both parties. He gave orders also to translate the prayers and litanies into the English tongue, which gave the reformers some hopes that he had not quite cast off his design of reforming such abuses as had crept into the worship of God. And they hoped that the reasons which prevailed with the king to order this, would also induce him to order a translation of all the other offices into the English tongue.

Lee, archbishop of York, died about this time; and was succeeded by Holgate, bishop of Landaff, who, in his heart, favoured the reformation. Kitchin, who turned with every change, was made bishop of Landaff; Heath was removed from Rochester to Worcester; Holbeck was promoted to the see of Rochester; and Day to that of Chichester. All these were moderate men, and well disposed to a reformation, or at least to comply with it.

Story and Martyrdom of Anne Askew.

This lady was descended from a good family, and had received an accomplished education; she had embraced the doctrines of the reformers with zeal, and was taken into custody for her opinions, in March, 1545. She underwent several examinations touching the points of difference between the papists and

the protestants : in which she answered the insidious questions of her examiners with boldness and discretion. After remaining some time in prison, application was made by her relatives for her enlargement, and nothing being satisfactorily proved against her, she was for a time set at liberty : but during the following year, she was again apprehended, and was at length brought to her trial at Guildhall. We transcribe her own account of what took place on this interesting occasion :

“ The sum of my condemnation at Guildhall.

“ They said to me there, ‘ that I was a heretic, and condemned by the law, if I would stand in my opinion.’ I answered, ‘ That I was no heretic, neither yet deserved I any death by the law of God. But as concerning the faith which I uttered and wrote to the council, I would not deny it, because I knew it true.’ Then would they needs know if I would deny the sacrament to be Christ’s body and blood. I said, ‘ Yea ; for the same Son of God, who was born of the Virgin Mary, is now glorious in heaven, and will come again from thence at the latter day like as he went up—Acts i. And as for that ye call your God, it is a piece of bread. For a more proof thereof, mark it when you list, let it lie in the box but three months, and it will be mouldy, and so turn to nothing that is good. Whereupon I am persuaded that it cannot be God.’

“ After that they willed me to have a priest ; at this I smiled. Then they asked me if it were not good ; I said, ‘ I would confess my faults unto God, for I was sure he would hear me with favour.’ And so we were condemned.

“ My belief, which I wrote to the council, was this, that the sacramental bread was left to us to be received with thanksgiving, in remembrance of Christ’s

death, the only remedy of our souls' recovery ; and that thereby we also receive the whole benefits and fruits of his most glorious passion. Then would they know whether the bread in the box were God or no : I said, ' God is a spirit, and will be worshipped in spirit and in truth. John iv.' Then they demanded, ' Will you plainly deny Christ to be in the sacrament ?' I answered, ' that I believe faithfully the eternal Son of God not to dwell there ;' in witness whereof I recited the 19th chapter of Daniel, the 7th and 17th of the Acts, and the 24th of Matthew, concluding thus,—' I neither wish death, nor yet fear his might ; God have the praise thereof with thanks.'

" My faith briefly written to the King's grace, and sent by the hands of the Chancellor.

" I, Anne Askew, of good memory, although God hath given me the bread of adversity, and the water of trouble, yet not so much as my sins have deserved, desire this to be known unto your grace, that forasmuch as I am by the law condemned for an evil doer, here I take heaven and earth to record, that I shall die in my innocency ; and according to that I have said first, and will say last, I utterly abhor and detest all heresies. And as concerning the supper of the Lord, I believe so much as Christ hath said therein, which he confirmed with his most blessed blood ; I believe so much as he willed me to follow ; and believe so much as the Catholic church of him doth teach. For I will not forsake the commandment of his holy lips. But look what God hath charged me with his mouth, that have I shut up in my heart. And thus briefly I end, for lack of learning.

" ANNE ASKEW.

*“My examination and treatment after my departure
from Newgate.*

“On Tuesday I was sent from Newgate to the sign of the Crown, where Mr. Rich and the bishop of London, with all their power and flattering words, went about to persuade me from God ; but I did not esteem their glossing pretences.

“Then came to me Nicholas Shaxton, and counselled me to recant, as he had done. I said to him, ‘That it had been good for him never to have been born ;’ with many other like words.

“Then Mr. Rich sent me to the Tower, where I remained till three o’clock, when Rich came, and one of the council, charging me upon my obedience to show unto them if I knew any man or woman of my sect. My answer was, ‘That I knew none.’ Then they asked me of lady Suffolk, lady Sussex, lady Hertford, lady Denny, and lady Fitzwilliams. To whom I answered, ‘If I should pronounce any thing against them, that I were not able to prove it.’ Then said they unto me, ‘That the king was informed that I could name, if I would, a great number of my sect.’ I answered, ‘That the king was as well deceived in that behalf, as he was dissembled with by them in other matters.’

“Then they commanded me to show how I was maintained in the Compter, and who willed me to stick to my opinion. I said, ‘that there was no creature that therein did strengthen me. And as for the help that I had in the Compter, it was by the means of my maid. For as she went abroad in the streets, she told my case to the apprentices, and they by her did send me money : but who they were I never knew.’

"Then they said, 'That there were several ladies that had sent me money.' I answered, 'That there was a man in a blue coat who delivered me ten shillings, and said that my lady of Hertford sent it me : and another in a violet coat gave me eight shillings, and said my lady Denny sent it me. Whether it were true or no I cannot tell : for I am not sure who sent it me, but as the maid did say.' Then they said, 'There were some of the council who maintained me.' I said, 'No.'

"Then did they put me on the rack, because I confessed no ladies or gentlemen to be of my opinion, and thereon they kept me a long time, and because I lay still and did not cry, my lord chancellor and Mr. Rich took pains to rack me with their own hands till I was nigh dead.

"The lieutenant then caused me to be loosed from the rack, when I immediately swooned, and they recovered me again. After that I sat two hours reasoning with my lord chancellor upon the bare floor, where he with many flattering words persuaded me to leave my opinions ; but my Lord God, I thank his everlasting goodness, gave me grace to persevere, and will do, I hope, to the very end.

"Then was I brought to a house and laid in a bed, with as weary and painful bones as ever had patient Job, I thank my Lord God therefor. Then my lord chancellor sent me word, if I would leave my opinion I should want for nothing ; if I would not, I should forthwith to Newgate, and so be burned. I sent him again word, that I would rather die than break my faith.

"Thus the Lord open the eyes of their blind hearts, that the truth may take place. Farewell, dear friend, and pray, pray, pray."

Her racking in the Tower, mentioned above, is thus described. She was led down into a dungeon, where Sir Anthony Knevet, the lieutenant, command-

ed his jailer to pinch her with the rack ; which being done, as much as he thought sufficient, he was about to take her down, supposing that he had done enough. But Wriothesley, the chancellor, not contented that she should be loosed so soon, having confessed nothing, commanded the lieutenant to strain her on the rack again, which because he denied to do, he was threatened by the chancellor, "That he would signify his disobedience to the king ;" but remaining unmoved by their threats, Wriothesley and Rich, throwing off their gowns, would needs play the tormentors themselves, first asking her "if she were with child ?" To which she answered, "Ye shall not need to spare for that, but do your wills upon me ;" and so quietly and patiently praying unto the Lord, she sustained their cruelty, till her bones and joints were almost torn asunder, so that she was obliged to be carried away in a chair. When the racking was past, the chancellor and Mr. Rich rode off to the court.

In the mean time, while they were making their way by land, the good lieutenant, taking boat, hastened to the court to speak with the king before the others, which he did ; and desiring his pardon, told him the whole matter respecting the racking of Mrs. Askew, and the threats of the lord chancellor, "because at his commandment, not knowing his highness's pleasure, he refused to rack her, which he for compassion could not find in his heart to do, and therefore desired his highness's pardon ; which when the king had heard, he seemed not much to approve their severity ; and granted the lieutenant his pardon.

While Mrs. Askew was confined in Newgate, she made the following confession of her faith : "I, Anne Askew, of good memory, although my merciful Father hath given me the bread of adversity, and the water of trouble, yet not so much as my sins have



Anne Askew.—Page 290.



Martyrdom of George Wishart.—Page 317.



deserved, do confess myself here a sinner before the throne of his heavenly majesty, desiring his forgiveness and mercy. And for so much as I am by the law unrighteously condemned for an evil doer, concerning opinions, I take the same most merciful God of mine, which hath made both heaven and earth, to record that I hold no opinions contrary to his most holy word; and I trust in my merciful Lord, which is the giver of all grace, that he will graciously assist me against all evil opinions which are contrary to his blessed verity; for I take him to witness that I have done, and will, unto my life's end, utterly abhor them to the uttermost of my power.

“But this is the heresy which they report me to hold, that after the priest hath spoken the words of consecration, there remaineth bread still. They both say, and also teach it for a necessary article of faith, that after these words be once spoken, there remaineth no bread, but even the self-same body that hung upon the cross on Good Friday, both flesh, blood, and bone. To this belief of theirs say I, Nay. For then were our common creed false, which saith, that he sitteth on the right hand of God the Father Almighty, and from thence shall come to judge the quick and the dead. Lo, this is the heresy that I hold, and for it must suffer the death. But as touching the holy and blessed supper of the Lord, I believe it to be a most necessary remembrance of his glorious sufferings and death. Moreover, I believe as much therein as my eternal and only Redeemer Jesus Christ would I should believe.

“Finally, I believe all those scriptures to be true, which he hath confirmed with his most precious blood; yea, and as St. Paul saith, those scriptures are sufficient for our learning and salvation, that Christ hath left here with us; so that I believe, we need no unwritten verities to rule his church with. Therefore, look what he hath said unto me with his own mouth in his holy gospel, that I have with God's

grace closed up in my heart, and my full trust is (as David saith) that it shall be a lantern to my footsteps, Psalm xxviii.

"There be some that say I deny the eucharist, or sacrament of thanksgiving ; but those people untruly report of me ; for I both say and believe it, that if it were ordered as Christ instituted it and left it, a most singular comfort it were unto us all. But as concerning the mass as it is now used in our days, I say and believe it to be the most abominable idol that is in the world. For my God will not be eaten with teeth, neither yet dieth he again ; and upon these words that I have now spoken, will I suffer death.

"O Lord ! I have more enemies now than there be hairs on my head ; yet, Lord ! let them never overcome me with vain words, but fight thou, Lord ! in my stead, for on thee cast I my care. With all the spite they can imagine, they fall upon me, who am thy poor creature. Yet, sweet Lord ! let me not set by them which are against me, for in thee is my whole delight ; and, Lord ! I heartily desire of thee, that thou wilt of thy most merciful goodness forgive them that violence which they do, and have done unto me. Open also thou their blind hearts, that they may hereafter do that thing in thy sight which is only acceptable before thee, and to set forth thy verity aright, without all vain fantasy of sinful men. So be it, O Lord ! so be it. ANNE ASKEW."

We have thought it advisable to give so much of this lady's own writings, as they afford very strong evidence of her faith, and zeal for the cause of truth. To this sacred cause she was now about to give the last and highest proof of her attachment, by yielding up her life at the stake, as a token of her devotion to the pure religion of Jesus, and her abhorrence of the devices and inventions of the papists.

On the day appointed for her execution, she was brought to Smithfield in a chair, being unable to walk,

from the effects of the tortures which she had undergone. When she arrived at the stake, she was fastened to it by a chain round her body. Three other persons were brought to suffer with her, for the same offence. These were, Nicholas Belenian, a priest of Shropshire; John Adams, a tailor; and John Lacels, a gentleman of the king's household.

The martyrs being all chained to the stake, Dr. Shaxton, who was appointed to preach, began his sermon; and as he proceeded, Anne Askew, with undiminished spirit, either confirmed or contradicted him, according to the truth or falsehood of his quotations and inferences.

The sermon being concluded, the martyrs began their prayers. The concourse of spectators was immense, and on a bench near the stake sat the lord chancellor, the duke of Norfolk, the earl of Bedford, the lord mayor, and other persons of consideration. The chancellor sent to Anne Askew letters, offering to her the king's pardon if she would recant; but she, refusing even to look upon them, made this answer: "That she came not thither to deny her Lord and master." Then the letters were likewise offered to the others, who, imitating the constancy of the woman, refused not only to receive them, but also to look upon them, and continued to cheer and exhort each other to be firm to the end of their sufferings, and so to deserve the glory they were about to enter; whereupon the lord mayor, commanding fire to be put to them, cried with a loud voice, "*fiat justitia.*"

And thus these blessed martyrs were compassed in with flames of fire, and offered up as sacrifices unto God.

Designs against Cranmer.

These events were so many triumphs to the popish party, who, stimulated by fresh hopes, sought to complete their victory by effecting the ruin of Cranmer

and the queen, whom they considered the greatest obstacles to their success. They persuaded the king that Cranmer was the source of all the heresies in England; but Henry's esteem for him was such, that no one would appear to give evidence against him; they therefore desired that he might be committed to the Tower, and then it would appear how many would inform against him.

The king seemed to approve this plan, and they resolved to execute it the next day: but in the night Henry sent for Cranmer, and told him what was resolved concerning him. Cranmer thanked the king for giving him notice of it, and submitted to it, only desiring that he might be heard in answer for himself; and that he might have impartial judges, competent to decide. Henry was surprised to see him so little concerned in his own preservation; but told him, since he took so little care of himself, that he must take care of him. He therefore gave him instructions to appear before the council, and to desire to see his accusers before he should be sent to the Tower; and that he might be used by them, as they would desire to be used in a similar case; and, if he could not prevail by the force of reason, then he was to appeal to the king in person, and was to show the royal seal ring, which he took from his finger and gave him, which they would know so well that they would do nothing after they once saw it.

Accordingly, on being summoned next morning, he came over to Whitehall; there he was detained, with great inscience, in the lobby of the council chamber before he was called in; but when that was done, and he had acted as the king had ordered him, and at last showed the ring, his enemies rose in great confusion, and went to the king. He upbraided them severely for what they had done, and expressed his esteem and kindness for Cranmer in such terms, that they were glad to get off, by pretending that they had no other design, but that of

having his innocence declared by a public trial. From this vain attempt they were so convinced of the king's unalterable favour to him, that they forbore any further designs against him.

But what they could not effect against Cranmer, they thought might be more safely tried against the queen, who was known to love the "new learning!" as the reformation was then called. She used to have sermons in her privy chamber, which could not be so secretly carried, but that it came to the knowledge of her royal spouse; yet her conduct in all other things was so exact, and she expressed such a tender care of the king's person, that it was observed she had gained much upon him; but his peevishness growing with his distempers, made him sometimes impatient even to her.

He used often to talk with her of matters of religion, and sometimes she sustained the argument for the reformers so strenuously, that he was offended at it; yet as soon as that appeared she let it fall. But once the debate continuing long, the king expressed his displeasure at it to Gardiner, when she went away. The crafty bishop took hold of this opportunity to persuade the king that she was a great cherisher of heretics. Wriothesly joined with him in the same artifice; and filled the angry king's head with suspicions, insomuch that he signed the articles upon which she was to be impeached. But the chancellor carelessly dropping the paper, it happened to be taken up by one of the queen's friends, who carried it to her.

The next night, after supper, she went into the king's bedchamber, where she found him sitting and talking with certain gentlemen. He very courteously welcomed her, and breaking off his talk with the gentlemen, began of himself, contrary to his usual manner, to enter into talk of religion, seeming, as it were, desirous to hear the queen's opinion on certain matters which he mentioned.

The queen, perceiving to what this tended, mildly, and with much apparent deference, answered him as follows :

"Your Majesty," says she, "doth right well know, neither am I myself ignorant, what great imperfection and weakness by our first creation is allotted unto us women, to be ordained and appointed as inferior, and subject unto man as our head, from which head all our direction ought to proceed ; and that as God made man to his own shape and likeness, whereby he, being endued with more special gifts of perfection, might rather be stirred to the contemplation of heavenly things, and to the earnest endeavour to obey his commandments ; even so also made he woman of man, of whom, and by whom, she is to be governed, commanded, and directed ; whose womanly weaknesses and natural imperfection ought to be tolerated, aided, and borne withal, so that by his wisdom such things as be lacking in her ought to be supplied.

"Since thence, therefore, that God hath appointed such a natural difference between man and woman, and your majesty being so excellent in gifts and ornaments of wisdom, and I a silly poor woman, so much inferior in all respects of nature unto you, how then cometh it now to pass that your majesty, in such diffuse causes of religion, will seem to require my judgment ? which, when I have uttered and said what I can, yet must I, and will I, refer my judgment in this, and in all other cases, to your majesty's wisdom, as my only anchor, supreme head and governor here on earth, next unto God to lean unto."

"Not so, by Saint Mary," replied the king ; "you are become a doctor, Kate, to instruct us, (as we take it,) and not to be instructed or directed by us."

"If your majesty take it so," said the queen, "then hath your majesty very much mistaken, who have ever been of the opinion, to think it very unseemly and preposterous for the woman to take upon her

the office of an instructor or teacher to her lord and husband, but rather to learn of her husband, and to be taught by him ; and where I have, with your majesty's leave, heretofore been bold to hold talk with your majesty, wherein sometimes in opinions there hath seemed some difference, I have not done it so much to maintain opinion, as I did rather to minister talk, not only to the end your majesty might with less grief pass over this painful time of your infirmity, being intentive to your talk, and hoping that your majesty should reap some ease thereby ; but also that I, hearing your majesty's learned discourse, might receive to myself some profit thereby ; wherein, I assure your majesty, I have not missed any part of my desire in that behalf, always referring myself in all such matters unto your majesty, as by ordinance of nature it is convenient for me to do."

"And is it even so, sweetheart?" cried the king ; "and tended your arguments to no worse end ? Then perfect friends we are now again, as ever at any time heretofore." And as he sat in his chair, embracing her in his arms, and kissing her, he added, that "it did him more good at that time to hear those words of her own mouth, than if he had heard present news of a hundred thousand pounds in money fallen unto him ;" and with tokens of great joy, and promises and assurances never again to mistake her, he entered into very pleasant discourse with the queen, and the lords and gentlemen standing by ; and at last (the night being far advanced,) he gave her leave to depart. And after she was gone, he greatly commended and praised her.

The time formerly appointed for her being taken into custody being come, the king, waited upon by two gentlemen only of his bed-chamber, went into the garden, whither the queen also came, (being sent for by the king himself) with three ladies attending her. Henry immediately entered into pleasant conversation with the queen and attendants ; when sud-

denly, in the midst of their mirth, the lord chancellor came into the garden with forty of the king's guards, intending to have taken the queen, together with the three ladies, to the Tower. The king, sternly beholding them, broke off his mirth with the queen, and stepping a little aside, called the chancellor to him, who upon his knees spake to the king, but what he said is not well known : it is, however, certain that the king's reply to him was, "Knave ! yea, arrant knave, beast and fool !" and then he commanded him presently to begone out of his presence : which words, being vehemently spoken by the king, the queen and her ladies overheard them.

The king, after the departure of the chancellor and his guards, immediately returned to the queen ; when she, perceiving him to be very much irritated, endeavoured to pacify him with kind words, in behalf of the lord chancellor, with whom he seemed to be offended, saying, "That albeit she knew not what just cause his majesty had at that time to be offended with him, yet she thought that ignorance, not wilfulness, was the cause of his error."

"Ah, poor soul," replied the king, "thou little knowest how ill he deserveth this grace at thy hands. On my word, sweetheart, he hath been towards thee an arrant knave, and so let him go." Thus the design against her was frustrated, and Gardiner, who had promoted it, lost the king's favour entirely.

The King's Sickness and Death.

The king's distemper had been long growing upon him. He was become so corpulent that he could not go up and down stairs, but was let down and drawn up by an engine, when he intended to walk in his garden. He had an ulceration in his leg, which gave him much pain, the humours of his body discharging themselves that way, till at last a dropsy came on.

He had grown so fierce and cruel, that those about him were afraid to let him know that his death seem-

ed near, lest they might have been adjudged guilty of treason, in foretelling his death!

His will was made ready and signed by him on the 30th of December. He ordered Gardiner's name to be struck out from the list of his executors. When Sir Anthony Brown endeavoured to persuade him not to put that disgrace on an old servant, he continued positive in it; for he said "*he* knew his temper, and could govern him; but it would not be in the power of others to do it, if he were put in so high a trust." The most material thing in the will was, the preferring the children of his second sister, by Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk, to the children of his eldest sister the queen of Scotland, in the succession to the crown. On his death-bed he finished the foundation of Trinity College in Cambridge, and of Christ's Hospital, near Newgate; yet this last was not fully settled, till his son completed what he had begun.

On the 27th of January, 1547, his spirits sunk, and it was evident that he had not long to live. Sir Anthony Denny took the courage to tell him that death was approaching, and desired him to call on God for his mercy. He expressed in general his sorrow for his past sins, and his trust in the mercies of God in Christ Jesus. He ordered Crammer to be sent for, but was speechless before he arrived; yet he gave a sign that he understood what he said to him, and soon after died, in the 56th year of his age, after he had reigned thirty-seven years and nine months. His death was concealed three days; and the parliament continued to sit till the 31st of January, when his decease was made public. It is probable the Seymours, uncles to the young king, concealed it so long, till they made a party for securing the government in their own hands.

The severities Henry used against many of his subjects, in matters of religion, made both sides write with great sharpness against him; his temper was

imperious and cruel ; he was sudden and violent in his passions, and hesitated at nothing by which he could gratify either his lust or his revenge. This was much provoked by the sentence of the pope against him, by the virulent books cardinal Pole and others published, by the rebellions that were raised in England by the popish clergy, and the apprehensions he was in of the emperor's greatness, together with his knowledge of the fate of those princes, against whom the popes had thundered in former times ; all which made him think it necessary to keep his people under the terror of a severe government ; and by some public examples to secure the peace of the nation, and thereby to prevent a more profuse effusion of blood, which might have otherwise followed, if he had been more gentle ; and it was no wonder if, after the pope deposed him, he proceeded to great severities against all who supported the papal authority.

Almost the last act of his life was one of barbarous ingratitude and monstrous tyranny. This was the execution of the earl of Surry, a brave and accomplished nobleman, who had served him with zeal and fidelity, but was now sacrificed to the groundless suspicions of this gloomy tyrant, on the pretence of his having assumed the arms of Edward the Confessor, which, from his being related to the royal family, he had a right to do, and which he had done, during many years, without offence. Not satisfied with the death of this nobleman, the blood-thirsty despot, now tottering on the brink of the grave, determined to complete his worse than savage barbarity, by bringing to the block the aged duke of Norfolk, father of his former victim, who had spent a long life, and expended a princely fortune, in his service. There being no charge on which to found an impeachment against him, a parliament was summoned to attaint him ; and so well did these servile wretches fulfil their inhuman master's expectations, that the bill of

attainder was passed in both houses in the short space of seven days ; and the royal assent being given by commission, January 27, the duke was ordered for execution on the next morning ; but in the course of the night, the king was himself summoned before the tribunal of the eternal Judge.

SECTION IV.

PERSECUTIONS IN SCOTLAND DURING THE 15TH AND PART OF THE 16TH CENTURY.

Having brought our account of the sufferings and martyrdoms of the English reformers down to the death of Henry the Eighth, we shall now proceed to relate the cruel persecutions of God's faithful servants in Scotland, to the same period ; but it will previously be necessary to give a short sketch of the progress of the reformation in that country.

The long alliance between Scotland and France had rendered the two nations extremely attached to each other ; and Paris was the place where the learned of Scotland had their education. Yet early in the fifteenth century, learning was more encouraged in Scotland, and universities were founded in several of the episcopal sees. About the same time some of Wickliffe's followers began to show themselves in Scotland ; and an Englishman, named Resby, was burnt in 1407, for teaching some opinions contrary to the pope's authority.

Some years after that, Paul Craw, a Bohemian, who had been converted by Huss, was burnt for infusing the opinions of that martyr into some persons at St. Andrew's.

Life, sufferings, and martyrdom of George Wishart.

Mr. George Wishart was born in Scotland, and after receiving a grammatical education at a private school, he left that place, and finished his studies at the university at Cambridge.

The following character of him, during his residence at that university, was written by one of his scholars, and contains so just a picture of this excellent man, that we give it at length.

“About the year of our Lord 1543, there was in the university of Cambridge one Mr. George Wishart, commonly called Mr. George of Bennet’s college, who was a man of tall stature, bald-headed, and on the same wore a round French cap; judged to be of melancholy complexion by his physiognomy, black-haired, long-bearded, comely of personage, well spoken after his country of Scotland, courteous, lowly, lovely, glad to teach, desirous to learn, and was well travelled: having on him for his habit of clothing, never but a mantle of frieze gown to the shoes, a black millian fustian doublet, and plain black hose, coarse new canvass for his shirts, and white falling bands and cuffs at his hands. All the which apparel he gave to the poor, some weekly, some monthly, some quarterly, as he liked, saving his French cap, which he kept the whole year of my being with him.

“He was a man modest, temperate, fearing God, hating covetousness; for his charity had never end, night, noon, nor day; he forbore one meal in three, one day in four, for the most part, except something to comfort nature. He lay hard upon a puff of straw, and coarse new canvass sheets, which when he changed he gave away. He had commonly by his bedside a tub of water, in the which (his people being in bed, the candle put out and all quiet) he used to bathe himself, as I, being very young, being assured, often heard him, and in one light night discerned him. He loved me tenderly, and I him, for my age, as effectually. He taught with great modesty and gravity, so that some of his people thought him severe, and would have slain him, but the Lord was his defence. And he, after due correction for their malice, by good exhortation amended them and went his way. O that the Lord had left him to me his poor boy, that

he might have finished that he had begun ! for in his religion he was as you see here in the rest of his life, when he went into Scotland with divers of the nobility, that came for a treaty to king Henry the Eighth. His learning was no less sufficient than his desire ; always pressed and ready to do good in that he was able, both in the house privately, and in the school publicly, professing and reading divers authors.

“ If I should declare his love to me, and all men, his charity to the poor, in giving, relieving, caring, helping, providing, yea, infinitely studying how to do good unto all, and hurt to none, I should sooner want words than just cause to commend him.

“ All this I testify with my whole heart, and truth, of this godly man. He that made all, governeth all, and shall judge all, knoweth that I speak the truth, that the simple may be satisfied, the arrogant confounded, the hypocrite disclosed.

“ EMERY TYLNEY.”

In order to improve himself as much as possible in the knowledge of literature, he travelled into various foreign countries, where he distinguished himself for his great learning and abilities, both in philosophy and divinity. His desire to promote true knowledge and science among men, accompanied the profession of it himself. He was very ready to communicate what he knew to others, and frequently read various authors, both in his own chamber and in the public schools.

After being some time abroad, he returned to England, and took up his residence at Cambridge, where he was admitted a member of Bennet college. Having taken his degrees, he entered into holy orders, and expounded the gospel in so clear and intelligible a manner, as highly to delight his numerous auditors.

Being desirous of propagating the true gospel in his own country, he left Cambridge in 1544, and in his way to Scotland preached in most of the principal towns, to the great satisfaction of his hearers.

On his arrival in his native land, he first preached at Montrose, and afterwards at Dundee. In this last place he made a public exposition of the epistle to the Romans, which he went through with so much grace, eloquence, and freedom, as delighted the reformers, and alarmed the papists.

In consequence of this exposition, one Robert Miln, a principal man of Dundee, went, by command of cardinal Beaton, to the church, where Wishart preached, and in the midst of his discourse publicly told him "not to trouble the town any more, for he was determined not to suffer it."

This treatment greatly surprised Wishart, who, after a short pause, looking sorrowfully on the speaker and audience, said, "God is my witness, that I never intended your trouble, but your comfort; yea, your trouble is more grievous to me, than it is to yourselves; but I am assured, to refuse God's word, and to chase from you his messenger, shall not preserve you from trouble, but shall bring you into it; for God shall send you ministers that shall neither fear burning nor banishment. I have offered you the word of salvation. With the hazard of my life I have remained among you: now ye yourselves refuse me; and I must leave my innocence to be declared by my God. If it be long prosperous with you, I am not led by the spirit of truth; but if unlooked-for trouble come upon you, acknowledge the cause, and turn to God, who is gracious and merciful. But if you turn not at the first warning, he will visit you with fire and sword." At the close of this speech he left the pulpit, and retired.

After this he went into the west of Scotland, where he preached God's word, which was gladly received by many; till the archbishop of Glasgow, at the instigation of cardinal Beaton, came, with his train, to the town of Ayr, to suppress Wishart, and insisted on having the church to preach in himself. Some opposed this; but Wishart said, "Let him alone, his

sermon will not do much hurt ; let us go to the market-cross." This was agreed to, and Wishart preached a sermon that gave universal satisfaction to his hearers, and at the same time confounded his enemies.

He continued to propagate the gospel with the greatest alacrity, preaching sometimes in one place, and sometimes in another ; but coming to Macklene, he was, by force, kept out of the church. Some of his followers would have broken in ; upon which he said to one of them, " Brother, Jesus Christ is as mighty in the fields as in the church ; and himself often preached in the desert, at the seaside, and other places. The like word of peace God sends by me ; the blood of none shall be shed this day for preaching it."

He then went into the fields, where he preached to the people for above three hours ; and such an impression did his sermon make on the minds of his hearers, that many of the most wicked men in the country became converts to the truth of the gospel.

A short time after this, Mr. Wishart received intelligence, that the plague was broke out in Dundee. It began four days after he was prohibited from preaching there, and raged so extremely, that incredible numbers died in the space of twenty-four hours. This being related to him, he, notwithstanding the persuasions of his friends, determined to go thither, saying, " They are now in trouble, and need comfort. Perhaps this hand of God will make them now to magnify and reverence the word of God, which before they lightly esteemed."

Here he was with joy received by the godly. He chose the East gate for the place of preaching ; so that the healthy were within, and the sick without the gate. He took his text from these words, " He sent his word and healed them," &c. In this sermon he chiefly dwelt upon the advantage and comfort of God's word, the judgments that ensue upon the con

tempt or rejection of it, the freedom of God's grace to all his people, and the happiness of those of his elect, whom he takes to himself out of this miserable world. The hearts of his hearers were so raised by the divine force of this discourse, as not to regard death, but to judge them the more happy who should then be called, not knowing whether they might have such a comforter again with them.

After this the plague abated ; though, in the midst of it, Wishart constantly visited those that lay in the greatest extremity, and comforted them by his exhortations.

When he took leave of the people of Dundee, he said, "That God had almost put an end to that plague, and that he was now called to another place."

He went from thence to Montrose, where he sometimes preached, but spent most of his time in private meditation and prayer.

It is said, that before he left Dundee, and while he was engaged in the labours of love to the bodies, as well as to the souls, of those poor afflicted people cardinal Beaton engaged a desperate popish priest, called John Weighton, to kill him ; the attempt to execute which was as follows : one day, after Wishart had finished his sermon, and the people departed, the priest stood waiting at the bottom of the stairs, with a naked dagger in his hand under his gown. But Mr. Wishart, having a sharp, piercing eye, and seeing the priest as he came from the pulpit, said to him, "My friend, what would you have?" And immediately clapping his hand upon the dagger, took it from him. The priest, being terrified, fell on his knees, confessed his intention, and craved pardon. A noise being hereupon raised, and it coming to the ears of those who were sick, they cried, "Deliver the traitor to us, we will take him by force ;" and they burst in at the gate. But Wishart, taking the priest in his arms, said, "Whatsoever hurts him, shall hurt me ; for he hath done me no

mischief, but much good, by teaching me more heedfulness for the time to come." By this conduct he appeased the people, and saved the life of the wicked priest.

Soon after his return to Montrose, the cardinal again conspired his death, causing a letter to be sent to him as if it had been from his familiar friend, the laird of Kinnier, in which he was desired, with all possible speed, to come to him, because he was taken with a sudden sickness. In the mean time the cardinal had provided sixty armed men, to lie in wait within a mile and a half of Montrose, in order to murder him as he passed that way.

The letter coming to Wishart's hand by a boy, who also brought him a horse for the journey, Wishart, accompanied by some of his friends, set forward; but something particular striking his mind by the way, he returned back, which they wondering at, asked him the cause; to whom he said, "I will not go; I am forbidden of God; I am assured there is treason. Let some of you go to yonder place, and tell me what you find." They accordingly went, discovered the assassins, and hastily returning, they told Mr. Wishart; whereupon he said, "I know I shall end my life by that blood-thirsty man's hands, but it will not be in this manner."

A short time after this he left Montrose, and proceeded to Edinburgh, in order to propagate the gospel in that city. By the way he lodged with a faithful brother, called James Watson, of Inner-Goury. In the middle of the night he got up, and went into the yard, which two men hearing, they privately followed him.

While in the yard he fell on his knees, and prayed for some time with the greatest fervency; after which he arose, and returned to his bed. Those who attended him, appearing as though they were ignorant of all, came and asked him where he had been? But he would not answer them. The next day they im

portuned him to tell them, saying, "Be plain with us, for we heard your mourning, and saw your gestures."

On this he, with a dejected countenance, said, "I had rather you had been in your beds." But they still pressing upon him to know something, he said, "I will tell you ; I am assured that my warfare is near at an end, and therefore pray to God with me, that I shrink not when the battle waxeth most hot." When they heard this they wept, saying, "'This is small comfort to us."—"Then," said he, "God shall send you comfort after me. This realm shall be illuminated with the light of Christ's gospel, as clearly as any realm since the days of the apostles. The house of God shall be built in it ; yea, it shall not lack, in despite of all enemies, the top-stone ; neither will it be long before this be accomplished. Many shall not suffer after me, before the glory of God shall appear, and triumph in despite of Satan. But, alas, if the people afterwards shall prove unthankful, then fearful and terrible will be the plagues that shall follow."

The next day he proceeded on his journey, and when he arrived at Leith, not meeting those he expected, he kept himself retired for a day or two. He then grew pensive, and being asked the reason, he answered, "What do I differ from a dead man ? Hitherto God hath used my labours for the instruction of others, and to the disclosing of darkness ; and now I lurk as a man ashamed to show his face." His friends perceived that his desire was to preach, whereupon they said to him, "It is most comfortable for us to hear you, but because we know the danger wherein you stand, we dare not desire it." He replied, "If you dare hear, let God provide for me as best pleaseth him ;" after which it was concluded, that the next day he should preach at Leith. His text was from the parable of the sower, Matt. xiii. The sermon ended, the gentlemen of Lothian, who were earnest professors of Jesus Christ, would not

suffer him to stay at Leith, because the governor and cardinal were shortly to come to Edinburgh; but took him along with them; and he preached at Branstone, Longniddry, and Ormistone. He also preached at Inveresk, near Muselburg: he had a great concourse of people, and amongst them Sir George Douglass, who after sermon said publicly, "I know that the governor and cardinal will hear that I have been at this sermon; but let them know that I will avow it, and will maintain both the doctrine and the preacher, to the utmost of my power."

Among others that came to hear him preach, there were two gray-friars, who, standing at the church door, whispered to such as came in; which Wishart observing, said to the people, "I pray you make room for these two men, it may be they come to learn;" and turning to them, he said, "Come near, for I assure you, you shall hear the word of truth, which this day shall seal up to you either your salvation or damnation:" after which he proceeded in his sermon, supposing that they would be quiet; but when he perceived that they still continued to disturb the people that stood near them, he said to them the second time, with an angry countenance, "O ministers of Satan, and deceivers of the souls of men, will ye neither hear God's truth yourselves, nor suffer others to hear it? Depart, and take this for your portion; God shall shortly confound and disclose your hypocrisy within this kingdom; ye shall be abominable to men, and your places and habitations shall be desolate." He spoke this with much vehemency; then turning to the people, said, "These men have provoked the spirit of God to anger;" after which he proceeded in his sermon, highly to the satisfaction of his hearers.

From hence he went and preached at Branstone, Languedine, Ormistone, and Inveresk, where he was followed by a great concourse of people. He preached also in many other places, the people flocking

after him ; and in all his sermons he foretold the shortness of the time he had to travel, and the near approach of his death. When he came to Haddington, his auditory began much to decrease, which was thought to happen through the influence of the earl of Bothwell, who was moved to oppose him, at the instigation of the cardinal. Soon after this, as he was going to church, he received a letter from the west country gentlemen, which having read, he called John Knox, who had diligently waited on him since his arrival at Lothian ; to whom he said, " He was weary of the world, because he saw, that men began to be weary of God : for," said he, " the gentlemen of the west have sent me word, that they cannot keep their meeting at Edinburgh."

Knox, wondering he should enter into conference about these things, immediately before his sermon, contrary to his usual custom, said to him, " Sir, sermon-time approaches ; I will leave you for the present to your meditations."

Wishart's sad countenance declared the grief of his mind. At length he went into the pulpit, and his auditory being very small, he introduced his sermon with the following exclamation: " O Lord ! how long shall it be, that thy holy word shall be despised, and men shall not regard their own salvation ? I have heard of thee, O Haddington, that in thee there used to be two or three thousand persons at a vain and wicked play ; and now, to hear the messenger of the eternal God, of all the parish can scarce be numbered one hundred present. Sore and fearful shall be the plagues that shall ensue upon this thy contempt. With fire and sword shalt thou be plagued ; yea, thou Haddington in special, strangers shall possess thee ; and ye, the present inhabitants, shall either in bondage serve your enemies, or else ye shall be chased from your own habitations ; and that because ye have not known, nor will know, the time of your visitation."

This prediction was, in a great measure, accomplished not long after, when the English took Haddington, made it a garrison, and forced many of the inhabitants to flee. Soon after this, a dreadful plague broke out in the town, of which such numbers died, that the place became almost depopulated.

Cardinal Beaton, being informed that Wishart was at the house of Mr. Cockburn, of Ormiston, in East-Lothian, applied to the regent to cause him to be apprehended ; with which, after great persuasion, and much against his will, he complied.

The earl accordingly went, with proper attendants, to the house of Mr. Cockburn, which he beset about midnight. The master of the house being greatly alarmed, put himself in a posture of defence, when the earl told him that it was in vain to resist, for the governor and cardinal were within a mile, with a great power ; but if he would deliver Wishart to him, he would promise upon his honour that he should be safe, and that the cardinal should not hurt him. Wishart said, "Open the gates, the will of God be done ;" and Bothwell coming in, Wishart said to him, "I praise my God, that so honourable a man as you, my lord, receive me this night ; for I am persuaded that for your honour's sake you will suffer nothing to be done to me but by order of law : I less fear to die openly, than secretly to be murdered." Bothwell replied, "I will not only preserve your body from all violence that shall be intended against you without order of law ; but I also promise, in the presence of these gentlemen, that neither the governor nor cardinal shall have their will of you ; but I will keep you in my own house, till I either set you free, or restore you to the same place where I receive you." Then said Mr. Cockburn, "My lord, if you make good your promise, which we presume you will, we ourselves will not only serve you, but we will procure all the professors in Lothian to do the same."

This agreement being made, Mr. Wishart was de-

livered into the hands of the earl, who immediately conducted him to Edinburgh.

As soon as the earl arrived at that place, he was sent for by the queen, who, being an inveterate enemy to Wishart, prevailed on the earl (notwithstanding the promises he had made) to commit him a prisoner to the castle.

The cardinal being informed of Wishart's situation, went to Edinburgh, and immediately caused him to be removed from thence to the castle of St. Andrew's.

The inveterate and persecuting prelate, having now got our martyr fully at his own disposal, resolved to proceed immediately to try him as a heretic. for which purpose he assembled the prelates at St. Andrew's church on the 27th of February, 1546.

At this meeting the archbishop of Glasgow gave it as his opinion, that application should be made to the regent, to grant a commission to some nobleman to try the prisoner, that all the odium of putting so popular a man to death might not lie on the clergy.

To this the cardinal readily agreed ; but upon sending to the regent, he received the following answer : " That he would do well not to precipitate this man's trial, but delay it until his coming ; for as to himself, he would not consent to his death before the cause was very well examined ; and if the cardinal should do otherwise, he would make protestation, that the blood of this man should be required at his hands."

The cardinal was extremely chagrined at this message from the regent ; however, he determined to proceed in the bloody business he had undertaken ; and therefore sent the regent word, " That he had not written to him about this matter, as supposing himself to be any way dependant upon his authority, but from a desire that the prosecution and conviction of heretics might have a show of public consent ; which, since he could not this way obtain, he would

proceed in that way which to him appeared the most proper."

In consequence of this, the cardinal immediately proceeded to the trial of Wishart, against whom no less than eighteen articles were exhibited, which were, in substance, as follows :

That he had despised the "holy mother-church;" had deceived the people; had ridiculed the mass; had preached against the sacraments, saying that there were not seven, but two only, viz., baptism and the supper of the Lord; had preached against confession to a priest; had denied transubstantiation and the necessity of extreme unction; would not admit the authority of the pope or the councils; allowed the eating of flesh on Friday; condemned prayers to saints; spoke against the vow of monks, &c., saying that "whoever was bound to such vows, had vowed themselves to the state of damnation, and that it was lawful for priests to marry;" that he had said, "it was in vain to build costly churches to the honour of God, seeing that he remained not in churches made with men's hands; nor yet could God be in so small a space as between the priest's hands;"—and, finally, that he had avowed his disbelief of purgatory, and had said, "the soul of man should sleep till the last day, and should not obtain immortal life till that time."

Mr. Wishart answered these respective articles with great composure of mind, and in so learned and clear a manner, as greatly surprised most of those who were present.

A bigoted priest, named Lauder, at the instigation of the archbishop, not only heaped a load of curses on him, but treated him with the most barbarous contempt, calling him "runagate, false heretic, traitor, and thief;" and, not satisfied with that, spit in his face, and otherwise maltreated him.

On this Mr. Wishart fell on his knees, and after making a prayer to God, thus addressed his judges :

"Many and horrible sayings unto me a Christian man, many words abominable to hear, have ye spoken here this day ; which not only to teach, but even to think, I ever thought a great abomination."

After the examination was finished, the archbishop endeavoured to prevail on Mr. Wishart to recant ; but he was too firmly fixed in his religious principles, and too much enlightened with the truth of the gospel, to be in the least moved.

In consequence of this the archbishop pronounced on him the dreadful sentence of death, which he ordered should be put into execution on the following day.

As soon as this cruel and melancholy ceremony was finished, our martyr fell on his knees and thus exclaimed :

"O immortal God, how long wilt thou suffer the rage and great cruelty of the ungodly, to exercise their fury upon thy servants, which do further thy word in this world ? Whereas they, on the contrary, seek to destroy the truth, whereby thou hast revealed thyself to the world. O Lord, we know certainly that thy true servants must needs suffer, for thy name's sake, persecutions, afflictions, and troubles, in this present world ; yet we desire that thou wouldst preserve and defend thy church, which thou hast chosen before the foundation of the world, and give thy people grace to hear thy word, and to be thy true servants, in this present life."

Having said this, he arose, and was immediately conducted by the officers to the prison from whence he had been brought, in the castle.

In the evening he was visited by two friars, who told him that he must make his confession to them ; to whom he replied, "I will not make any confession to you ;" on which they immediately departed.

Soon after this came the sub-prior, with whom Wishart conversed in so feeling a manner on religious matters, as to make him weep. When this man left

Wishart, he went to the cardinal, and told him, he came not to intercede for the prisoner's life, but to make known his innocence to all men. At these words, the cardinal expressed great dissatisfaction, and forbid the sub-prior from again visiting Wishart.

Towards the close of the evening, our martyr was visited by the captain of the castle, with several of his friends ; who bringing with them some bread and wine, asked him if he would eat and drink with them. "Yes," said Wishart, "very willingly, for I know you are honest men." In the mean time he desired them to hear him a little, when he discoursed with them on the Lord's Supper, his sufferings and death for us, exhorting them to love one another, and to lay aside all rancour and malice, as became the members of Jesus Christ, who continually interceded for them with his father. After this he gave thanks to God, and blessing the bread and wine, he took the bread and brake it, giving some to each, saying, at the same time, "Eat this, remember that Christ died for us, and feed on it spiritually." Then taking the cup, he drank, and bade them "remember that Christ's blood was shed for them." After this he gave thanks, prayed for some time, took leave of his visitors, and retired to his chamber.

On the morning of his execution there came to him two friars from the cardinal ; one of whom put on him a black linen coat, and the other brought several bags of gunpowder, which they tied about different parts of his body.

In this dress he was conducted from the room in which he had been confined, to the outer chamber of the governor's apartments, there to stay till the necessary preparations were made for his execution.

The windows and balconies of the castle, opposite the place where he was to suffer, were all hung with tapestry and silk hangings, with cushions for the cardinal and his train, who were from thence to feast their eyes with the torments of this innocent man.

There was also a large guard of soldiers, not so much to secure the execution, as to show a vain ostentation of power ; besides which, cannon were placed on different parts of the castle.

All the preparations being completed, Wishart, after having his hands tied behind him, was conducted to the fatal spot. In his way thither he was accosted by two friars, who desired him to pray to the Virgin Mary to intercede for him. To whom he meekly said, "Cease ; tempt me not, I entreat you."

As soon as he arrived at the stake, the executioner put a rope around his neck, and a chain about his middle ; upon which he fell on his knees, and thus exclaimed :

"O thou Saviour of the world, have mercy upon me ! Father of heaven, I commend my spirit into thy holy hands."

After repeating these words three times he arose, and turning himself to the spectators, addressed them as follows :

"Christian brethren and sisters, I beseech you, be not offended at the word of God for the torments which you see prepared for me ; but I exhort you, that ye love the word of God for your salvation, and suffer patiently, and with a comfortable heart, for the word's sake, which is your undoubted salvation, and everlasting comfort. I pray you also, show my brethren and sisters, who have often heard me, that they cease not to learn the word of God, which I taught them according to the measure of grace given me, but to hold fast to it with the strictest attention ; and show them that the doctrine was no old wives' fables, but the truth of God ; for if I had taught men's doctrine I should have had greater thanks from men : but for the word of God's sake I now suffer, not sorrowfully, but with a glad heart and mind. For this cause I was sent, that I should suffer this fire for Christ's sake ; behold my face, you shall not see me change my countenance ; I fear not the fire ; and if

persecution come to you for the word's sake, I pray you fear not them that can kill the body, and have no power to hurt the soul."

After this he prayed for his accusers, saying, "I beseech thee, Father of heaven, forgive them that have, from ignorance, or an evil mind, forged lies of me: I forgive them with all my heart. I beseech Christ to forgive them, that have ignorantly condemned me."

Then again turning himself to the spectators, he said, "I beseech you, brethren, exhort your prelates to learn the word of God, that they may be ashamed to do evil, and learn to do good; or there will come upon them the wrath of God, which they shall not eschew."

As soon as he had finished this speech, the executioner fell on his knees before him, and said, "Sir, I pray you forgive me, for I am not the cause of your death."

In return to this, Wishart cordially took the man by the hand, and kissed him, saying, "Lo, here is a token that I forgive thee; my heart, do thine office."

He was then fastened to the stake, and the fagots being lighted, immediately set fire to the powder that was tied about him, and which blew into a flame and smoke.

The governor of the castle, who stood so near that he was singed with the flame, exhorted our martyr, in a few words, to be of good cheer, and to ask pardon of God for his offences. To which he replied, "This flame occasions trouble to my body, indeed, but it hath in no wise broken my spirit. But he who now so proudly looks down upon me from yonder lofty place," pointing to the cardinal, "shall ere long be as ignominiously thrown down, as now he proudly lolls at his ease."

When he had said this, the executioner pulled the rope which was tied about his neck with great violence, so that he was soon strangled; and the fire get-

ting strength, burnt with such rapidity that in less than an hour his body was totally consumed.

Thus died, in confirmation of the gospel of Christ, a sincere believer, whose fortitude and constancy, during his suffering, can only be imputed to the support of divine aid, in order to fulfil that memorable promise, "As is thy day, so shall thy strength be also."

BOOK X.

Progress of the Reformation in the reign of Edward VI.

Edward was the only son of King Henry, by his beloved wife Jane Seymour, who died the day after his birth, which took place on the twelfth of October, 1537, so that when he came to the throne in 1547, he was but ten years old.

At six years of age, he was put into the hands of Dr. Cox and Mr. Cheke; the one was to form his mind, and teach him philosophy and divinity; the other to teach him languages and mathematics; other masters were also appointed for the various parts of his education. He discovered very early a good disposition to religion and virtue, and a particular reverence for the scriptures; and was once greatly offended with a person, who, in order to reach something hastily, laid a great Bible on the floor and stood upon it. He made great progress in learning, and at the age of eight years, wrote Latin letters frequently, both to the king, to queen Catherine Parre, to the archbishop of Canterbury, and his uncle the earl of Hertford.

Upon his father's decease, the earl of Hertford and

Sir Anthony Brown were sent to bring him to the Tower of London; and when Henry's death was published, he was proclaimed king.

The education of Edward having been intrusted to protestants, and Hertford, afterwards created duke of Summerset, being appointed protector, and favouring the reformation, that cause greatly advanced; notwithstanding the opposition of some in power, among whom were Gardiner, Bonner, Touslatt, and above all, the lady Mary, the next heir to the throne.

Under the auspices of the young king, Cranmer determined to proceed more vigorously in the work of reformation. Accordingly, as a beginning, a general visitation of all the churches in England was resolved upon. The visitors were accompanied by preachers, who were to justify their conduct, and to reason away existing superstitions.

The only thing by which the people could be universally instructed, was the book of *homilies*; therefore, the first twelve homilies in the book, still known by that name, were compiled. The chief design of these homilies was to instruct the people as to the nature of the gospel covenant.

About the same time, orders were given to place a Bible in every church; which, though it had been commanded by Henry, had not been generally complied with. This was accompanied by Erasmus's paraphrase of the New Testament. The great reputation of that learned man, and his dying in the communion of the Roman church, rendered his paraphrase preferable to any other work then extant.

Injunctions also were added for removing images, and abolishing customs which engendered superstition. The scriptures were to be read more frequently in public, preaching and catechising were also to be more frequent, and the clergy were to be exhorted to be more exemplary in their lives.

Next, the Liturgy was revised, and the marriage of the priests agreed to. Acts were passed by par-

liament in aid of the views and proceedings of the reformers. The new liturgy was generally introduced, and to great numbers proved highly acceptable. The princess Mary, however, steadfastly refused it, and continued to hear mass in her chapel.

The greater number of the bishops were now friends of the reformation. It was thought, therefore, to be a convenient time to settle the doctrine of the church. Accordingly, a body of articles was framed by the bishops and clergy. These articles were forty-two in number. In Elizabeth's reign they were reduced to thirty-nine, and have continued from that day to the present to be the acknowledged creed of the church of England.

The reformers next proceeded to revise anew the lately published book of common prayer. In the daily service they added the confession and absolution; "that so the worship of God might begin with a grave and humble confession; after which a solemn declaration of the mercy of God, according to the terms of the gospel," was to be pronounced by the priest. At the same time all popish customs were finally abolished. The liturgy, as now established, with the exception of a few trifling alterations, made under Elizabeth, assumed its present appearance.

While the reformation was thus proceeding, and was likely, under Providence, to terminate in an abandonment of every vestige of the Roman superstition, the prospects of the reformers were suddenly overcast by the afflicting illness and death of the young king.

He had contracted great colds by violent exercises, which, in January, settled into so obstinate a cough that all the skill of physicians and the aid of medicine proved ineffectual. There was a suspicion over all Europe, that he was poisoned: but no certain grounds appear for justifying it.

The king seemed in nothing so much concerned as at the state that religion and the church would be in

after his death. The duke of Northumberland took advantage of this, and persuaded the king to favour lady Jane Gray, who was married to his son, lord Guilford Dudley. The king ordered the judges to put some articles he had signed in form of law. The judges answered before the council, that it had been made treason by a law passed in this reign, to change the succession, so that they could not meddle with it. Judge Hale, a firm protestant, refused the change altogether; but some were for confirming the right to the crown to lady Jane Gray.

On the 6th July, king Edward VI. died: the last words he uttered were, "I am faint; Lord have mercy upon me, and take my spirit."

BOOK XI.

Accession of queen Mary, subversion of religion, and persecutions of the Church of England, during her reign.

It has been asserted by the Roman Catholics, "That all those who suffered death during the reign of queen Mary, had been adjudged guilty of treason, in consequence of their rising in defence of lady Jane Gray's title to the crown." To disprove this, however, is no difficult matter, since every one, conversant in English history, must know, that those who are found guilty of high treason are to be hanged and quartered. But how can even a papist affirm, that ever a man in England was *burned* for high treason? We admit, that some few suffered death in the ordinary way of process at common law, for their adherence to lady Jane; but none of those were burned. Why, if traitors, were they taken before the bishops, who have no power to judge in criminal cases? Even allowing the bishops to have had power to judge, yet

their own bloody statute did not empower them to execute. The proceedings against the martyrs are still extant, and they are carried on directly according to the forms prescribed by their own statute. Not one of those who were burned in England, was ever accused of high treason, much less were they tried at common law. And this should teach the reader to value a history of transactions in his own country, particularly as it relates to the sufferings of the blessed martyrs in defence of the religion he professes, in order that he may be able to remove the veil which falsehood has cast over the face of truth. Having said thus much, by way of introduction, we shall proceed with the Acts and Monuments of the British Martyrs.

By the death of king Edward, the crown devolved, according to law, on his eldest sister Mary, who was within half a day's journey to the court, when she had notice given her by the earl of Arundel, of her brother's death, and of the patent for lady Jane's succession. Upon this she retired to Framlingham, in Suffolk, to be near the sea, that she might escape to Flanders, in case of necessity. Before she arrived there, she wrote, on the 9th of July, to the council, telling them, that "she understood that her brother was dead, by which she succeeded to the crown, but wondered that she heard not from them; she well understood what consultations they had engaged in, but she would pardon all such as would return to their duty, and proclaim her title to the crown."

It was now found, that the king's death could be no longer kept a secret; accordingly some of the privy council went to lady Jane, and acknowledged her as their queen.* The news of the king's death afflicted her much, and her being raised to the throne,

* The lady Jane was daughter to the duke of Suffolk, and granddaughter to Mary, sister to Henry VIII., who, on the death of her first husband, the king of France, married Charles Brandon, afterwards created duke of Suffolk.

rather increased than lessened her trouble. She was a person of extraordinary abilities, acquirements, and virtues. She was mistress both of the Greek and Latin tongues, and delighted much in study. As she was not tainted with the levities which usually accompany her age and station, so she seemed to have attained to the practice of the highest fortitude; for in those sudden turns of her condition, as she was not exalted with the prospect of a crown, so she was little cast down, when her palace was made her prison. The only passion she showed, was that of the noblest kind, in the concern she expressed for her father and husband, who fell with her, and seemingly on her account; though, in reality, Northumberland's ambition, and her father's weakness, ruined her.

She rejected the crown, when it was first offered her; she said she knew that of right it belonged to the late king's sisters, and therefore could not with a good conscience assume it; but she was told, that both the judges and privy counsellors had declared that it fell to her according to law. This, joined with the importunities of her husband, her father, and father-in-law, made her submit. Upon this, twenty-one privy counsellors set their hands to a letter to Mary, telling her that queen Jane was now their sovereign, and that as the marriage between her father and mother had been declared null, so she could not succeed to the crown; they therefore required her to lay down her pretensions, and to submit to the settlement now made; and if she gave a ready obedience, promised her much favour. The day after this they proclaimed Jane.

Northumberland's known enmity to the late duke of Somerset, and the suspicions of his being the author of Edward's untimely death, begot a great aversion in the people to him and his family, and disposed them to favour Mary; who, in the mean time, was very active in raising forces to support her claim.

To attach the protestants to her cause, she promised not to make any change in the reformed worship, as established under her brother ; and on this assurance a large body of the men of Suffolk joined her standard.

Northumberland was now perplexed between his wish to assume the command of an army raised to oppose Mary, and his fear of leaving London to the government of the council, of whose fidelity he entertained great doubts. He was, however, at length obliged to adopt the latter course, and before his departure from the metropolis he adjured the members of the council, and all persons in authority, to be steadfast in their attachment to the cause of queen Jane, on whose success, he assured them, depended the continuance of the protestant religion in England. They promised all he required, and he departed, encouraged by their protestations and apparent zeal.

Mary's party in the mean time continued daily to augment. Hastings went over to her with 4000 men out of Buckinghamshire, and she was proclaimed queen in many places. At length the privy council began to see their danger, and to think how to avoid it ; and besides fears for their personal safety, other motives operated with many of the members. To make their escape from the Tower, where they were detained, ostensibly to give dignity to the court of queen Jane, but really as prisoners, they pretended it was necessary to give an audience to the foreign ambassadors, who would not meet them in the Tower ; and the earl of Pembroke's house was appointed for the audience.

When they met there they resolved to declare for queen Mary, and rid themselves of Northumberland's yoke, which they knew they must bear, if he were victorious. They sent for the lord mayor and aldermen, and easily gained their concurrence ; and Mary was proclaimed queen on the 19th of July. They

then sent to the Tower, requiring the duke of Suffolk to quit the government of that place, and the lady Jane to lay down the title of queen. To this she submitted with much greatness of mind, and her father with abjectness.

The council next sent orders to Northumberland to dismiss his forces, and to obey the queen. When Northumberland heard this, he disbanded his forces, went to the market-place at Cambridge, where he then was, and proclaimed Mary as queen. The earl of Arundel was sent to apprehend him, and when Northumberland was brought before him, in the most servile manner, fell at his feet to beg his favour. He, with three of his sons and sir Thomas Palmer, (his wicked tool in the destruction of the duke of Somerset,) were all sent to the Tower.

Every one now flocked to implore the queen's favour, and Ridley among the rest, but he was committed to the Tower; the queen being resolved to put Bonner again in the see of London. Some of the judges, and several noblemen, were also sent thither, among the rest the duke of Suffolk; who was, however, three days after set at liberty. He was a weak man, could do little harm, and was consequently selected as the first person towards whom the queen should exert her clemency.

Mary came to London on the 3d of August, and on the way was met by her sister, lady Elizabeth, with a thousand horse, whom she had raised to assist the queen. On arriving at the Tower, she liberated the duke of Norfolk, the duchess of Somerset, and Gardiner; also the lord Courtney, son to the marquis of Exeter, who had been kept there ever since his father's attainder, and whom she now made earl of Devonshire.

Thus was seated on the throne of England the lady Mary, who, to a disagreeable person and weak mind, united bigotry, superstition, and cruelty. She seems to have inherited more of her mother's than her fa-

ther's qualities. Henry was impatient, rough, and ungovernable ; but Catherine, while she assumed the character of a saint, harboured inexorable rancour and hatred against the protestants. It was the same with her daughter Mary, as appears from a letter in her own hand-writing, now in the British Museum. In this letter, which is addressed to bishop Gardiner, she declares her fixed intention of burning every protestant ; and there is an insinuation, that as soon as circumstances would permit, she would restore back to the church the lands that had been taken from the convents. This was the greatest instance of her weakness that she could show : for in the first place the convents had been all demolished, except a few of their churches ; and the rents were in the hands of the first nobility, who, rather than part with them, would have overturned the government both in church and state.

Mary was crowned at Westminster in the usual form ; but dreadful were the consequences that followed. The narrowness of spirit which always distinguishes a weak mind from one that has been enlarged by education, pervaded all the actions of this princess. Unacquainted with the constitution of the country, and a slave to superstition, she thought to domineer over the rights of private judgment, and trample on the privileges of mankind.

The first exertion of her regal power was, to wreak her vengeance upon all those who had supported the title of lady Jane Gray.

The first of these was the duke of Northumberland, who was beheaded on Tower-hill, and who, in consequence of his crimes, arising from ambition, died unpitied ; nay, he was even taunted on the scaffold by the spectators, who knew in what manner he had acted to the good duke of Somerset.

The other executions that followed were numerous indeed, but as they were all upon the statute of high treason, they cannot with any degree of propriety be

applied to protestants, or, as they were called, *heretics*. The parliament was pliant enough to comply with all the queen's requests, and an act passed to establish the popish religion. This was what the queen waited for; and power being now put into her hands, she was determined to exercise it in the most arbitrary manner. She was destitute of human compassion, and without the least reluctance could tyrannize over the consciences of men.

This leads us to the conclusion of the first year of her reign; and we consider it the more necessary to take notice of these transactions, although not, strictly speaking, *martyrdoms*, that our readers might be convinced of the great difference there is between dying for religion, and for high treason. It is history alone that can teach them such things, and it is reflection only that can make history useful. We frequently read without reflection, and study without consideration; but the following portions of history, in particular, will furnish ample materials for serious thought to our readers, and we entreat their attention to them.

SECTION I.

MARTYRDOMS IN THE SECOND YEAR OF QUEEN MARY'S REIGN.

The queen having satiated her malice upon those persons who had adhered to lady Jane Gray, she had next recourse to those old auxiliaries of popery, fire, fagot, and the stake, in order to convert her heretical subjects to the *true* Catholic faith.

Martyrdom of the Rev. John Rogers.

Mr. John Rogers, the aged minister of St. Sepulchre's church, Snow Hill, London, was the protomartyr: he was the first sacrifice, strictly speaking, offered up in this reign to popery, and led the way for those sufferers, whose blood has been the foundation, honour, and glory of the church of England.

This Mr. Rogers had been some time chaplain to the English factory at Antwerp. There he became acquainted with Mr. Tindal, and assisted him in his translation of the New Testament. There were several other worthy protestants there at that time, most of whom had been driven out of England, on account of the persecutions for the six articles in the latter end of the reign of Henry VIII. Mr. Rogers, knowing that marriage was lawful, and even enjoined in scripture, entered into that state with a virtuous woman, and soon after set out for Saxony, in consequence of an invitation to that effect.

When Edward ascended the throne of England, Mr. Rogers returned to his native country, and was promoted by bishop Ridley to a prebendary of St. Paul's. He was also appointed reader of the divinity lecture in that cathedral, and vicar of St. Sepulchre's.

In this situation he continued some years: and as queen Mary was returning from the Tower, where she had been imbibing Gardiner's pernicious coun-

sels, Mr. Rogers was preaching at St. Paul's Cross. He inveighed much against popery, expatiated on the many virtues of the late king Edward, and exhorted the people to abide in the protestant religion.

For this sermon he was summoned before the council; but he vindicated himself so well, that he was dismissed.

This lenity shown by the council was rather displeasing to the queen; and Mr. Rogers's zeal against popery being equal to his knowledge and integrity, he was considered as a person who would prevent the re-establishment of popery.

For this reason it was, that he was summoned a second time before the council; and although there were many papists among the members, yet such was the respect almost universally felt for Mr. Rogers, that he was again dismissed, but was commanded not to go out of his own house. This order he complied with, although he might have made his escape if he would. He knew he could have had a living in Germany, and he had a wife and ten children: but all these things did not move him; he did not court death, but met it with fortitude when it came.

He remained confined in his own house several weeks, till Bonner, bishop of London, procured an order to have him committed to Newgate, where he was lodged among thieves and murderers.

He was afterwards brought a third time before the council, where Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, presided. It was not with any view of showing lenity to the prisoner; it was not with a view of convincing him of error, supposing him to be guilty of any; it was not to recall him to the Romish church that he was brought there: no, his destruction was designed, and he was singled out to be an example to all those who should refuse to comply with Romish idolatry.

When brought before the chancellor and council, he freely acknowledged that he had been fully convinced, in his own mind, that the pope was Anti

Christ, and that his religion was contrary to the gospel.

He made a most elaborate defence, which, however, did not avail him in the minds of his persecutors. He showed them, that the statute upon which he was prosecuted had never legally passed, and even if it had, it was in all respects contrary to the word of God : for whatever emoluments might have been bestowed upon the clergy from time to time, they had no right to persecute those who differed from them in sentiment.

After he had been examined several times before the council, which was a mere mockery of justice, he was turned over to Bonner, bishop of London, who caused him to go through a second mock examination ; and, at last, declared him to be an obstinate heretic. A certificate of this was, in the ordinary course, sent into chancery, and a writ was issued for the burning of Mr. Rogers in Smithfield. This sentence did not in the least frighten our martyr, who, by faith in the blood of Christ, was ready to go through with his attachment to the truth without paying any regard to the malice of his enemies.

On the 4th of February, 1555, Mr. Rogers was taken out of Newgate, to be led to the place of execution, when the sheriff asked him if he would recant his opinions ? To this he answered, " That what he had preached he would seal with his blood." " Then," said the sheriff, " thou art a heretic." To which Mr. Rogers answered, " that will be known when we meet at the judgment seat of Christ."

As they were taking him to Smithfield, his wife and eleven children went to take their last farewell of a tender husband, and an indulgent parent. The sheriffs, however, would not permit them to speak to him ; so unfeeling is bigotry, so merciless is superstition ! When he was chained to the stake, he declared that God would in his own good time vindicate the truth of what he had taught, and appear in

favour of the protestant religion. Fire was set to the pile, and he was consumed to ashes.

He was a very pious and humane man, and his being singled out as the first victim of superstitious cruelty, can only entitle him to a higher crown of glory in heaven.

SECTION II.

MARTYRDOMS OF NUMEROUS PERSONS IN VARIOUS PARTS OF ENGLAND.

Thomas Tomkins.

The first person we have to mention on the bloody list contained in this section, was named Thomas Tomkins, a weaver, who lived, with great reputation, in the parish of St. Leonard, Shoreditch. Being accused of heresy, he was summoned before that merciless persecutor, bishop Bonner, who confined him, with many others, in the dungeons of his palace at Fulham.

During his imprisonment he was treated by the bishop in a manner not only unbecoming a prelate, but a man : he several times beat him with peculiar cruelty, and tore the greatest part of his beard from his face, for no other reason but his refusing his assent to the doctrine of transubstantiation.

Another instance of this cruel bishop's inhumanity to Mr. Tomkins, was exhibited before several gentlemen who came to visit him. The bishop, finding him inflexible, took hold of him by the wrist, and held his hand over the flame of a wax candle, in order, if possible, to make him deviate from those uncorrupted truths of the gospel he had so strongly preserved. This punishment Mr. Tomkins submitted to with great fortitude, till the veins burst, and water issuing from the hand, flew into the face of a by-stander, who was so affected, that he requested the bishop to forbear, saying, he had sufficiently punished the prisoner.

A few days after this, Mr. Tomkins was brought before the bishop, at his consistory court at St. Paul's, to whom he delivered the following articles of confession in writing, sealed up, and signed with his own hand :

"I, Thomas Tomkins, of the parish of St. Leonard, Shoreditch, in the diocess of London, having confessed and declared openly heretofore to Edmund Bonner, bishop of London, mine ordinary, that my belief hath been many years past, and is at this present, that the body of our Saviour Jesus Christ is not truly and in very deed, in the sacrament of the altar, but only in heaven ; and so in heaven, that it cannot now indeed be really and truly in the sacrament of the altar :

"And, moreover, having likewise confessed and declared to my said ordinary openly many times, that although the church, called the Catholic church, hath allowed, and doth allow the mass and sacrifice made and done therein, as a wholesome, profitable, and godly thing ; yet my belief hath been many years past, and is at this present, that the said mass is full of superstition, plain idolatry, and unprofitable for the soul ; and so I have called it many times, and take it at this present :

"Having also confessed and declared to my said ordinary, that the sacrament of baptism ought to be only in the vulgar tongue, and not otherwise ministered ; and also without such ceremonies as are generally used in the Latin church, and otherwise not to be allowed :

"Finally, being many and often times called before my said ordinary, and talking with all, touching all my said confessions and declarations, both by my said ordinary, and divers other learned men, as well his chaplains as others, and counselled by them all to embrace the church, and to recant mine error, in the premises, which they told me was plain heresy, and manifest error ; do testify and declare hereby,

that I do and will continually stand to my said confession, declaration, and belief, in all the premises, and every part thereof; and in no wise recant, or go from any part of the same. In witness whereof, I have subscribed and passed the writing, this 26th of September, 1554."

Bishop Bonner and the rest of the tribunal strongly pressed Mr. Tomkins to recant his errors, and return to the mother-church: but he only answered, "I was born and brought up in ignorance till of late years, and now I know the truth, I will continue therein unto death."

Finding him inflexible, they declared him a heretic, and ordered the sheriff of London, who attended, to conduct him immediately to Newgate. Here he remained till the 16th of March, 1555, when he was conducted to Smithfield, and there burnt, triumphing in the midst of the flames, and adding to the number of those martyrs who had preceded him through the path of the fiery trial to the realms of immortal glory.

Margaret Polley, first Female Martyr in England.

Such was the fury of the bigoted zeal during the reign of Mary, that even the more tender sex did not escape the resentment of the Romish persecutors. These monsters in human form embraced every opportunity of exercising their cruelty, tyranny, and usurpation; nor could youth, age, or sex, impress on their minds the least feelings of humanity.

Information being given against Margaret Polley, to Maurice, bishop of Rochester, she was brought before him, when his lordship, according to the pontifical solemnity of the church of Rome, rose from his chair, in solemn parade, and harangued her as follows:

"We, Maurice, by the sufferance of God, bishop of Rochester, proceeding of our mere office in a cause of heresy, against thee, Margaret Polley, of the parish

of Poppingberry, in our diocess and jurisdiction of Rochester, do lay and object against thee, all and singular the ensuing articles :

“To these, all and singular, we require of thee a true, a full, and plain answer, by virtue of thine oath thereupon to be given.”

The oath being administered by the official, the bishop looked steadfastly at the woman, and demanded of her a peremptory answer to each of the following articles.

1. “Are not those heretics, who maintain and hold other opinions than our holy mother and Catholic church doth?”

To this she replied, “They are, indeed, heretics and grossly deceived, who hold and maintain doctrines contrary to the will of God, contained in the holy scriptures, which I sincerely believe were written by holy men immediately taught and instructed by the Holy Ghost.”

2. “Do you hold and maintain that in the sacrament of the altar, under the form of bread and wine, there is not the very body and blood of Christ, and that the said body is verily in heaven only, and not in the sacrament?”

She answered, “What I have learned from the holy scriptures, those living oracles of God, I do and will steadfastly maintain, viz., that the very body which was crucified for the sins of all true believers, ascended into heaven, is there placed at the right hand of the majesty on high; that such body has ever since remained there, and therefore cannot, according to my belief, be in the sacrament of the altar.

“I believe that the bread and wine in the sacrament are to be received as symbols and representatives of the body and blood of Christ, but not as his body really and substantially.

“I think, in my weak judgment, that it is not in the power of any man, by pronouncing words over the elements of bread and wine, to transubstantiate them into the real body and blood of Christ.

"In short, it is my belief that the eucharist is only a commemoration of the death of our Saviour, who said, 'As oft as ye do this, do it in remembrance of me.'"

These pertinent and frank replies greatly provoked the haughty prelate, who exclaimed against the woman as an obstinate heretic, and, after much scurrilous language, told her, "she was a silly woman, knew not what she said, and that it was the duty of every Christian to believe as the mother-church hath taught and doth teach."

He then asked her the following question: "Will you, Margaret Polley, recant the error which you maintain, be reconciled to the holy church, and receive the remission of sins?" To which she replied, "I cannot believe otherwise than I have spoken, because the practice of the church of Rome is contrary not only to reason, and my senses, but also to the word of God."

Immediately on this reply, the bishop pronounced sentence of condemnation against her; after which she was carried back to prison, where she remained for upwards of a month.

She was a woman in the prime of life, pious, charitable, humane, learned in the scriptures, and beloved by all who were acquainted with her.

During her imprisonment she was repeatedly exhorted to recant; but she refused all offers of life on such terms, choosing glory, honour, and immortality hereafter, rather than a few short years in this vale of grief, and even those purchased at the expense of truth and conscience.

When the day appointed for her execution arrived, which was in July, 1555, she was conducted from the prison at Rochester to Tunbridge, where she was burned, sealing the truth of what she had testified with her blood, and showing that the God of all grace, out of the weakest vessel can give strength, and cause the meanest instruments to magnify the glories of his redeeming love.

William Allen, a labouring man, was burnt at Walsingham, in Norfolk.

Thomas Cob, a butcher, suffered at Thetford, in the same county.

Roger Coo, an ancient gentleman, was brought before the bishop of Norwich, and the following account of his examination will give a good idea of the degree of mercy and justice to be expected at such a tribunal ; it being evident that the examination was a mere mockery.

Roger Coo, being brought before the bishop, was first asked by him why he was imprisoned ?

Coo. At the justice's commandment.

Bishop. There was some cause why.

Coo. Here is my accuser, let him declare.

And his accuser said, that he would not receive the sacrament.

Then the bishop said that he thought he had transgressed a law.

Coo answered, that there was no law to transgress.

The bishop then asked, What he said to the law that then was ?

Coo answered, That he had been in prison a long time and knew it not.

No, said his accuser, nor will not. My lord, ask him when he received the sacrament.

When Coo heard him say so, he said, I pray you, my lord, let him sit down and examine me himself.

But the bishop would not hear that, but said, Coo, why will you not receive ?

He answered him, That the bishop of Rome had changed God's ordinances, and given the people bread and wine instead of the gospel and the belief of the same.

Bishop. Is not the holy church to be believed ?

Coo. Yes, if it be built on the word of God.

The bishop said to Coo, that he had the charge of his soul.

Coo. Have you so, my lord ? Then if you go to the devil for your sins, what shall become of me ?

Bishop. Do you not believe as your father did? Was not he an honest man?

Coo. It is written, that after Christ hath suffered, "There shall come a people with the prince that shall destroy both city and sanctuary." I pray you show me whether this destruction was in my father's time, or not?

The bishop not answering his question, asked him, whether he would not obey the king's laws?

Coo. As far as they agree with the word of God I will obey them.

Bishop. Whether they agree with the word of God or not, we are bound to obey them, if the king were an infidel.

Coo. If Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego, had so done, Nebuchadnezzar had not confessed the living God.

Bishop. These two-and-twenty years we have been governed by such kings.

Coo. My lord, why were you then dumb, and did not speak or bark?

Bishop. I durst not, for fear of death. And thus they ended.

Mr. Coo was an aged man, and was at length committed to the fire at Yexford, in the county of Suffolk, where he most blessedly concluded his long extended years, in the month of September, 1555.

Four others also suffered about the same time at Canterbury, viz: George Cotmer, Robert Stræter, Anthony Burward, and George Brodrige; all of whom bore their punishment with Christian fortitude, glorifying God in the midst of the flames.

SECTION III.

THE LIVES, SUFFERINGS, AND MARTYRDOMS OF HUGH LATIMER, BISHOP OF WORCESTER, AND NICHOLAS RIDLEY, BISHOP OF LONDON.

Hugh Latimer was born of humble parents at Thirkeston, in Leicestershire, about the year 1475,

who gave him a good education, and sent him to Cambridge, where he showed himself a zealous papist, and inveighed much against the reformers, who at that time began to make some figure in England. But conversing frequently with Thomas Bilney, the most considerable person at Cambridge of all those who favoured the reformation, he saw the errors of popery, and became a zealous protestant.

Latimer being thus converted, laboured, both publicly and privately, to promote the reformed opinions, and pressed the necessity of a holy life, in opposition to those outward performances, which were then thought the essentials of religion. This rendered him obnoxious at Cambridge, then the seat of ignorance, bigotry, and superstition. However, the unaffected piety of Mr. Bilney, and the cheerful and natural eloquence of honest Latimer, wrought greatly upon the junior students, and increased the credit of the protestants so much, that the papist clergy were greatly alarmed, and, according to their usual practice, called aloud for the secular arm.

Under this arm Bilney suffered at Norwich: but his sufferings, far from shaking the reformation at Cambridge, inspired the leaders of it with new courage. Latimer began to exert himself more than he had yet done; and succeeded to that credit with his party which Bilney had so long supported. Among other instances of his zeal and resolution in this cause, he gave one which was very remarkable: he had the courage to write to the king (Henry VIII.) against a proclamation, then just published, forbidding the use of the Bible in English, and other books on religious subjects. He had preached before his majesty once or twice at Windsor; and had been taken notice of by him in a more affable manner, than that monarch usually indulged towards his subjects. But whatever hopes of preferment his sovereign's favour might have raised in him, he chose to put all to the hazard rather than omit what he thought his duty. His letter is the

picture of an honest and sincere heart : he concludes in these terms : "Accept, gracious sovereign, without displeasure, what I have written ; I thought it my duty to mention these things to your majesty. No personal quarrel, as God shall judge me, have I with any man : I wanted only to induce your majesty to consider well what kind of persons you have about you, and the ends for which they counsel. Indeed, great prince, many of them, or they are much slandered, have very private ends. God grant your majesty may see through all the designs of evil men, and be in all things equal to the high office with which you are intrusted. Wherefore, gracious king, remember yourself ; have pity upon your own soul, and think that the day is at hand, when you shall give account of your office, and the blood which hath been shed by your sword ; in the which day, that your grace may stand steadfastly, and not be ashamed, but be clear and ready in your reckoning, and have your pardon sealed with the blood of our Saviour Christ, which alone serveth at that day, is my daily prayer to him, who suffered death for our sins. The spirit of God preserve you."

Lord Cromwell was now in power, and being a favourer of the reformation, he obtained a benefice in Wiltshire for Latimer, who immediately went thither and resided, discharging his duty in a very conscientious manner, though much persecuted by the Romish clergy ; who, at length, carried their malice so far as to obtain an archi-episcopal citation for his appearance in London. His friends would have had him quit England ; but their persuasions were in vain.

The bishop of Winchester, who was now prime-minister, having proscribed Mr. Latimer from the first, sent a message to cite him before the council.

He had notice of this design some hours before the messenger's arrival, but he made no use of the intelligence. The messenger found him equipped for his

journey, at which, expressing his surprise, Mr. Latimer told him, that he was as ready to attend him to London, thus called upon to answer for his faith, as he ever was to take any journey in his life; and that he doubted not but that God, who had already enabled him to preach the word before two princes, would enable him to witness the same before a third. The messenger then acquainting him that he had no orders to seize his person, delivered a letter and departed. However, opening the letter, and finding it a citation from the council, he resolved to obey it, and set out immediately. As he passed through Smithfield, he said cheerfully, "This place of burning hath long groaned for me." The next morning he waited upon the council, who having loaded him with many severe reproaches, sent him to the Tower, from whence, after some time, he was removed to Oxford.

Nicholas Ridley, bishop of London, received the earliest part of his education at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, from whence he was removed to the University of Cambridge, where his great learning and distinguished abilities so recommended him, that he was made master of Pembroke-hall in that University.

After being some years in this office he left Cambridge, and travelled into various parts of Europe for his advancement in knowledge. On his return to England he was made chaplain to Henry VIII. and bishop of Rochester, from which he was translated to the see of London by Edward VI.

In private life he was pious, humane, and affable; in public he was learned, sound, and eloquent; diligent in his duty, and very popular as a preacher.

He had been educated in the Roman Catholic religion, but was brought over to the reformed faith by reading Bertram's book on the Sacrament; and he was confirmed in the same by frequent conferences with Cranmer and Peter Martyr, so that he became a zealous promoter of the reformed doctrines and discipline during the reign of king Edward.

"In his important offices he so diligently applied himself by preaching and teaching the true and wholesome doctrine of Christ, that no good child was more singularly loved by his dear parents, than he by his flock and diocess. Every holiday and Sunday he preached in one place or other, except he was otherwise hindered by weighty affairs and business; and to his sermons the people resorted, swarming about him like bees, and so faithfully did his life portray his doctrines, that even his very enemies could not reprove him in any thing.

"Besides this, he was very learned, his memory was great, and he had attained such reading withal, that he deserved to be compared to the best men of his age, as his works, sermons, and his sundry disputations in both the universities well testified."

Doctors Ridley and Latimer were both condemned to be burned.

The account of Ridley's behaviour before and at the place of execution, is curious and interesting; we therefore give it at length.

Behaviour of Dr. Ridley the night before he suffered.

"On the night before he suffered, his beard was washed and his legs; and as he sat at supper, at the house of Mr. Irish, his keeper, he invited his hostess and the rest at the table to his marriage; for, said he, to-morrow I must be married, and so showed himself to be as merry as ever he had been before. And wishing his sister at his marriage, he asked his brother, sitting at the table, whether he thought she could find in her heart to be there: he answered, 'Yes, I dare say, with all her heart.' At which he said, 'he was glad to hear of her sincerity.' At this discourse Mrs. Irish wept. But Dr. Ridley comforted her, saying, 'Oh, Mrs. Irish, you love me not, I see well enough; for in that you weep, it doth appear you will not be at my marriage, neither are

content therewith. Indeed, you are not so much my friend as I thought you had been. But quiet yourself: though my breakfast shall be somewhat sharp and painful, yet I am sure my supper will be more pleasant and sweet.'

"When they arose from the table, his brother offered to stay all night with him. But he said 'No, no, that you shall not. For I intend (God willing) to go to bed, and to sleep as quietly to-night as ever I did.' On this his brother departed, exhorting him to be of good cheer, and to take his cross quietly, for the reward was great," &c.

Burning of Ridley and Latimer.

"On the north side of the town, in the ditch over against Baliol college, the place of execution was appointed: and for fear of any tumult that might arise to hinder the burning of the servants of Christ, the lord Williams was commanded by the queen's letters, and the householders of the city, to be there assistant, sufficiently appointed; and when every thing was in readiness, the prisoners were brought forth by the mayor and bailiffs.

"Dr. Ridley had on a black gown, furred, and faced with foins, such as he used to wear when he was a bishop; a tippet of velvet, furred likewise, about his neck, a velvet night-cap upon his head, with a corner cap, and slippers on his feet. He walked to the stake between the mayor and an alderman, &c.

"After him came Mr. Latimer, in a poor Bristol frieze frock much worn, with his buttoned cap and handkerchief on his head, all ready to the fire, a new long shroud hanging down to his feet; which at the first sight excited sorrow in the spectators, beholding on the one side the honour they sometimes had, and on the other, the calamity into which they had fallen.

"Dr. Ridley, as he passed toward Bocardo, looked up where Dr. Cranmer lay, hoping to have seen him at the glass window, and spoken to him. But Dr.

Cranmer was then engaged in dispute with friar Soto and his fellows, so that he could not see him through that occasion. Dr. Ridley, then looking back, saw Mr. Latimer coming after ; unto whom he said, ' Oh, are you there ? '—' Yea,' said Mr. Latimer, ' have after as fast as I can.' So he following a pretty way off, at length they came to the stake. Dr. Ridley first entering the place, earnestly held up both his hands and looked towards heaven ; then shortly after seeing Mr. Latimer with a cheerful look, he ran to him and embraced him, saying, ' Be of good cheer, brother, for God will either assuage the fury of the flame, or else strengthen us to abide it.'

" He then went to the stake, and, kneeling down, prayed with great fervour, while Mr. Latimer, following, kneeled also, and prayed as earnestly as he. After this they arose and conversed together, and while thus employed, Dr. Smith began his sermon to them upon this text of St. Paul, in the 13th chapter of the first epistle to the Corinthians : ' If I yield my body to the fire to be burnt, and have not charity, I shall gain nothing thereby.' Wherein he alleged, that the goodness of the cause, and not the order of death, maketh the holiness of the person ; which he confirmed by the examples of Judas, and of a woman in Oxford who of late hanged herself, for that they and such like as he recited, might then be adjudged righteous, which desperately separated their lives from their bodies, as he feared that those men who stood before him would do. But he cried still to the people to beware of them, for they were heretics, and died out of the church. He ended with a very short exhortation to them to recant and come home again to the church, and save their lives and souls, which else were condemned. His sermon scarcely lasted a quarter of an hour.

" At its conclusion, Dr. Ridley said to Mr. Latimer, ' Will you begin to answer the sermon, or shall I ? ' Mr. Latimer said, ' Begin you first, I pray you ! ' ' I will,' said Dr. Ridley.

“He then, with Mr. Latimer, kneeled to my lord Williams, the vice-chancellor of Oxford, and the other commissioners appointed for the purpose, who sat upon a form thereby, and said, ‘I beseech you, my lord, even for Christ’s sake, that I may speak but two or three words;’ and whilst my lord bent his head to the mayor and vice-chancellor, to know whether he might have leave to speak, the bailiffs and Dr. Marshall, the vice-chancellor, ran hastily unto him, and with their hands stopping his mouth, said, ‘Mr. Ridley, if you will revoke your erroneous opinions, you shall not only have liberty so to do, but also your life.’ ‘Not otherwise?’ said Dr. Ridley. ‘No,’ answered Dr. Marshall: ‘therefore if you will not do so, there is no remedy: you must suffer for your deserts.’ ‘Well,’ said the martyr, ‘so long as the breath is in my body, I will never deny my Lord Christ, and his known truth: God’s will be done in me; with that he rose and said with a loud voice, ‘I commit our cause to Almighty God, who will indifferently judge all.’

“To which Mr. Latimer added his old saying, ‘Well, there is nothing hid but it shall be opened;’ and said he could answer Smith well enough, if he might be suffered. They were then commanded to prepare immediately for the stake.

“They, according, with all meekness obeyed. Dr. Ridley gave his gown and tippet to his brother-in-law, Mr. Shippside, who, all the time of his imprisonment, although he was not suffered to come to him, lay there at his own charges to provide him necessities, which from time to time he sent him by the serjeant who kept him. Some other of his apparel he also gave away, the others the bailiffs took.

“He likewise made presents of other small things to gentlemen standing by, and divers of them pitifully weeping; to Sir Henry Lea, he gave a new groat; to my lord Williams’ gentleman, some napkins, &c., and happy was he who could get the least trifle for a remembrance of this good man.

“Mr. Latimer quietly suffered his keeper to pull off his hose and his other apparel, which was very simple ; and being stripped to his shroud, he seemed as comely a person as one could well see.

“Then Dr. Ridley, standing as yet in his trowse, said to his brother, ‘It were best for me to go in my trowse still.’ ‘No,’ said Mr. Latimer, ‘it will put you to more pain : and it will do a poor man good.’ Whereupon Dr. Ridley said, ‘Be it in the name of God,’ and so unlaced himself. Then being in his shirt, he stood upon the aforesaid stone, and held up his hand and said, ‘Oh, heavenly Father, I give unto thee most hearty thanks that thou hast called me to be a professor of thee, even unto death ; I beseech thee, Lord God, have mercy on this realm of England, and deliver it from all her enemies.’

“Then the smith took a chain of iron and brought it about both their middles : and as he was knocking in the staple, Dr. Ridley took the chain in his hand, and looking aside to the smith, said, ‘Good fellow, knock it in hard, for the flesh will have its course.’ Then Mr. Latimer brought him a bag of gunpowder and tied it about his neck. Dr. Ridley asked him what it was ; he answered, gunpowder. ‘Then,’ said he, ‘I will take it to be sent of God, therefore I will receive it. And have you any,’ said he, ‘for my brother?’ (meaning Mr. Latimer.) ‘Yea, sir, that I have,’ said he. ‘Then give it unto him,’ said he, ‘in time, lest you come too late.’ So his brother went and carried it to Mr. Latimer.

Dr. Ridley said to my lord Williams, “My lord, I must be a suiter unto your lordship in the behalf of divers poor men, and especially in the cause of my poor sister : I have made a supplication to the queen in their behalf. I beseech your lordship, for Christ’s sake, to be a means to her grace for them. My brother here hath the supplication, and will resort to your lordship to certify you hereof. There is nothing in all the world that troubleth my conscience, (I

praise God,) this only excepted. Whilst I was in the see of London, divers poor men took leases of me, and agreed with me for the same. Now I hear that the bishop who now occupieth the same room will not allow my grants made to them, but, contrary to all law and conscience, hath taken from them their livings. I beseech you, my lord, be a means for them: you shall do a good deed, and God will reward you."

"They then brought a lighted fagot, and laid it at Dr. Ridley's feet; upon which Mr. Latimer said, 'Be of good comfort, Mr. Ridley, and play the man; we shall this day light such a candle, by God's grace, in England, as I trust never shall be put out.' When Dr. Ridley saw the fire flaming up towards him, he cried with an amazing loud voice, 'Into thy hands, O Lord, I commend my spirit; Lord, receive my spirit;' and continued often to repeat, 'Lord, Lord, receive my spirit.' Mr. Latimer, on the other side, cried as vehemently, 'O, Father of heaven, receive my soul.' After which he soon died, seemingly with very little pain.

"But Dr. Ridley, from the ill making of the fire, the fagots being green, and piled too high, so that the flames, being kept down by the green wood, burnt fiercely beneath, was put to such exquisite pain, that he desired them, for God's sake, to let the fire come unto him; which his brother-in-law hearing, but not very well understanding, to rid him out of his pain, (for which cause he gave attendance,) as one in such sorrow, and not well knowing what he did, heaped fagots upon him, so that he quite covered him, which made the fire so vehement beneath, that it burned all his nether parts before it touched the upper, and made him struggle under the fagots, and often desired them to let the fire come to him, saying, 'I cannot burn.' Yet in all his torment he forgot not to call upon God, still having in his mouth, 'Lord, have mercy upon me,' intermingling his cry, 'Let

the fire come unto me, I cannot burn.' In which pains he laboured till one of the standers by, with his bill, pulled the fagots from above, and where he saw the fire flame up, he rested himself to that side. And when the fire touched the gunpowder he was seen to stir no more, but burned on the other side, falling down at Mr. Latimer's feet, his body being divided.

"The dreadful sight filled almost every eye with tears. Some took it grievously to see their deaths whose lives they had held so dear. Some pitied their persons, who thought their souls had no need thereof. But the sorrow of his brother, whose extreme anxiety had led him to attempt to put a speedy end to his sufferings, but who, from error and confusion, had so unhappily prolonged them, surpassed that of all; and so violent was his grief, that the spectators pitied him almost as much as they did the martyr."

Thus did these two pious divines and steadfast believers testify, with their blood, the truth of the everlasting gospel, upon which depend all the sinner's hopes of salvation; to suffer for which was the joy, the glory of many eminent Christians, who, having followed their dear Lord and Master through much tribulation in this vale of tears, will be glorified for ever with him in the kingdom of his Father and our Father, of his God and our God.

Mr. Latimer, at the time of his death, was in the eightieth year of his age, and preserved the principles he had professed with the most distinguished magnanimity. He had naturally a happy temper, formed on the principles of true Christianity. Such was his cheerfulness, that none of the accidents of life could discompose him; such was his fortitude, that not even the severest trials could unman him; he had a collected spirit, and on no occasion wanted a resource; he could retire within himself, and hold the world at defiance.

And as danger could not daunt, so neither could ambition allure him: though conversant in courts,

and intimate with princes, he preserved, to the last, his primeval plainness : in his profession he was indefatigable ; and, that he might bestow as much time as possible on the active part of it, he allowed himself only those hours for his private studies when the busy world is at rest, constantly rising, at all seasons of the year, by two in the morning. How conscientious he was in the discharge of the public duties of his office, we have many examples. No man could persuade more forcibly ; no man could exert, on proper occasion, a more commanding severity. The wicked, in whatever station, he rebuked with censorial dignity, and awed vice by his firmness, more than the penal laws by their punishments.

Death of William Wiseman and of James Gore.

On the 13th of December, William Wiseman, a cloth-worker of London, died in Lollard's tower, where he had been confined on account of his adherence to the gospel. It was suspected that he had been starved to death ; but the truth of this could not be ascertained.

After his death the papists cast him out into the fields, as was their usual custom with such of the protestants as expired under their hands, commanding that no man should bury him. Notwithstanding their merciless commands, some pious Christians buried him in the evening, as commonly they did all the rest thrown out in like manner, singing psalms together at their burial.

In the same month also, James Gore, imprisoned and in bonds for his resistance of the popish abominations, died in prison at Colchester.

SECTION IV.

LIFE, SUFFERINGS, AND MARTYRDOM OF THOMAS CRANMER, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY, WHO WAS BURNT AT OXFORD, MARCH 21, 1556.

This eminent prelate was born at Aslacton, in Nottinghamshire, on the 2d of July, 1489. His family was ancient, and came in with William the Conqueror. He was early deprived of his father, and after a common school education, was sent by his mother to Cambridge, at the age of fourteen, according to the custom of those times.

Having completed his studies at the university, he took the usual degrees, and was so well beloved that he was chosen fellow of Jesus college, and became celebrated for his great learning and abilities.

In 1521 he married, by which he forfeited his fellowship; but his wife dying in child-bed within a year after his marriage, he was re-elected. This favour he gratefully acknowledged, and chose to decline an offer of a much more valuable fellowship in cardinal Wolsey's new seminary at Oxford, rather than relinquish friends who had treated him with the most distinguished respect.

In 1523 he commenced doctor of divinity; and being in great esteem for theological learning, he was chosen divinity lecturer in his own college, and appointed, by the university, one of the examiners in that science. In this office he principally inculcated the study of the holy scriptures, then greatly neglected, as being indispensably necessary for the professors of that divine knowledge.

The plague happening to break out at Cambridge, Mr. Cranmer, with some of his pupils, removed to Waltham Abbey, where meeting with Gardiner and Fox, the one the secretary, the other the almoner of king Henry VIII., that monarch's intended divorce of Catherine his queen, the common subject of dis-

course in those days, was mentioned : when Cranmer advising an application to the universities both in England and in foreign countries for their opinion in the case, and giving these gentlemen much satisfaction, they introduced him to the king, who was so pleased with him, that he ordered him to write his thoughts on the subject, made him his chaplain, and admitted him into that favour and esteem, which he never afterwards forfeited.

In 1530 he was sent by the king, with a solemn embassy, to dispute on the subject of the divorce, at Paris, Rome, and other foreign parts. At Rome he delivered his book, which he had written in defence of the divorce, to the pope, and offered to justify it in a public disputation : but after various promises and appointments none appeared to oppose him ; while in private conferences he forced them to confess that the marriage was contrary to the law of God. The pope constituted him penitentiary-general of England, and dismissed him. In Germany he gave full satisfaction to many learned men, who were before of a contrary opinion ; and prevailed on the famous Osander (whose niece he married while there) to declare the king's marriage unlawful.

During the time he was abroad, the great archbishop Warham died : Henry, convinced of Cranmer's merit, determined that he should succeed him ; and commanded him to return for that purpose. He suspected the cause, and delayed : he was desirous, by all means, to decline this high station : for he had a true and primitive sense of the office. But a spirit so different from that of the churchmen of his time, stimulated the king's resolution ; and the more reluctance Cranmer showed, the greater resolution Henry exerted. He was consecrated on March 30, 1533, to the office ; and though he received the usual bulls from the pope, he protested, at his consecration, against the oath of allegiance, &c. to him. For he had conversed freely with the reformed in Germany,

and read Luther's books, and was zealously attached to the glorious cause of reformation.

The first service he did the king in his archiepiscopal character, was, pronouncing the sentence of his divorce from queen Catherine: and the next was joining his hand with Anne Boleyn, the consequence of which marriage was the birth of Elizabeth, to whom he stood godfather.

As the queen was greatly interested in the reformation, the friends to that good work began to conceive high hopes; and, indeed, it went on with desirable success. But the fickle disposition of the king, and the fatal end of the unhappy Anne, for a while, alarmed their fears: though, by God's providence, without any ill effects. The pope's supremacy was universally exploded: monasteries, &c. destroyed, upon the fullest detection of the most abominable vices and wickedness existing in them: that valuable book of the "Erudition of a Christian Man," was set forth by the archbishop, with public authority: and the sacred Scriptures, at length, to the infinite joy of Cranmer, and of lord Cromwell, his constant friend and associate, were not only translated, but introduced into every parish. The translation was received with inexpressible joy: every one, that was able, purchased it, and the poor flocked greedily to hear it read: some persons in years learned to read on purpose that they might peruse it: and even little children crowded with eagerness to hear it.

Cranmer, that he might proceed with true judgment, made a collection of opinions from the works of the ancient fathers and later doctors: of which work Dr. Burnet saw two volumes in folio; and it appears, by a letter of lord Burleigh, that there were then six volumes of Cranmer's collections in his hands. A work of incredible labour, and of vast utility.

A short time after this, he gave shining proof of his sincere and disinterested constancy, by his noble

opposition to what are commonly called king Henry's six bloody articles. However, he weathered the storm; and published, with an incomparable preface, written by himself, the larger Bible; six of which, even Bonner, then newly consecrated bishop of London, caused to be fixed, for the perusal of the people, in his cathedral of St. Paul's.

The enemies of the reformation, however, were restless; and Henry, alas! was no protestant in his heart. Cromwell fell a sacrifice to them; and they aimed their malignant shafts at Cranmer. Gardiner in particular, was indefatigable: he caused him to be accused in parliament, and several lords of the privy council moved the king to commit the archbishop to the Tower. The king perceived their malice; and one evening, on pretence of diverting himself on the water, ordered his barge to be rowed to Lambeth. The archbishop, being informed of it, came down to pay his respects, and was ordered by the king to come into the barge, and sit close by him. Henry made him acquainted with the accusations of heresy, faction, &c., which were laid against him; and spoke of his opposition to the six articles: the archbishop modestly replied, that he could not but acknowledge himself to be of the same opinion, with respect to them, but was not conscious of having offended against them. The king then, putting on an air of pleasantry, asked him, if his bedchamber could stand the test of these articles? The archbishop confessed, that he was married in Germany, before his promotion; but he assured the king, that on the passing of that act, he had parted with his wife, and sent her abroad to her friends. His majesty was so charmed with his openness and integrity, that he discovered the whole plot that was laid against him; and gave him a ring of great value to produce upon any future emergency.

A few days after this, Cranmer's enemies summoned him to appear before the council. He according

ly attended, when they suffered him to wait in the lobby, amongst the servants, treated him on his admission with haughty contempt, and would have sent him to the Tower. But he produced the ring, which changed their tone, and, while his enemies received a severe reprimand from Henry, Cranmer himself gained the highest degree of security and favour.

On this occasion, he showed that lenity and mildness for which he was always so much distinguished : he never persecuted any of his enemies ; but, on the contrary, freely forgave even the inveterate Gardiner, on his writing a supplicatory letter to him. The same lenity he showed towards Dr. Thornton, the suffragan of Dover, and Dr. Barber, who, though entertained in his family, intrusted with his secrets, and indebted to him for many favours, had ungratefully conspired with Gardiner to take away his life.

When Cranmer first discovered their treachery, he took them aside into his study, and telling them, that he had been basely and falsely accused by some in whom he had always reposed the greatest confidence, desired them to advise him how he should behave himself towards them ? They, not suspecting themselves to be concerned in the question, replied, that "such vile, abandoned villains ought to be prosecuted with the greatest rigour ; nay, deserved to die without mercy." At this the archbishop, lifting up his hands to heaven, cried out, "Merciful God ! whom may man trust !" And then taking out of his bosom the letters, by which he had discovered their treachery, asked them, if they knew those papers ? When they saw their own letters produced against them, they were in the utmost confusion : and falling down upon their knees, humbly sued for forgiveness. The archbishop told them, "that he forgave them, and would pray for them ; but that they must not expect him ever to trust them for the future."

When Mary mounted the throne, she gave orders to proceed against Cranmer for heresy. He is sent

to prison ; he is degraded ; his priestly garments taken from him ; he is used hard in prison ; he is over-persuaded, and at last overcome, and signs a recantation of his faith, and again professes to believe in the Catholic church. He feels condemnation upon this, and expecting to suffer death, prepares a writing to show his feelings. The queen Mary gave orders to Dr. Cole, to prepare a funeral sermon for Cranmer's burning, by the 21st of March, the day appointed for to burn him, but which was kept from Cranmer till the last. He declared his grief and repentance before all the people, when brought forth to be burned, for his having signed a recantation of his faith.

Then was an iron chain tied about Cranmer, and they commanded the fire to be set unto him.

And when the wood was kindled, and the fire began to burn near him, he stretched forth his right hand, which had signed his recantation, into the flames, and there held it so steadfast that all the people might see it burn to a coal before his body was touched. In short he was so patient and constant in the midst of these extreme tortures, that he seemed to move no more than the stake to which he was bound ; his eyes were lifted up to heaven, and often he repeated, " this unworthy right hand," so long as his voice would suffer him ; and as often using the words of the blessed martyr St. Stephen, " Lord Jesus, receive my spirit," till the fury of the flames putting him to silence, he gave up the ghost.

Thus died Thomas Cranmer, in the 67th year of his age. He was a man of great candour, and a firm friend, which appeared signally in the misfortunes of Anne Boleyn, Cromwell, and the duke of Somerset. In his writings he rather excelled in great industry and good judgment, than in a quickness of apprehension, or a closeness of style. He employed his revenues on pious and charitable uses ; and in his table he was truly hospitable, for he entertained great

numbers of his poor neighbours often at it. The gentleness and humility of his deportment were very remarkable. His last fall was the greatest blemish of his life, yet that was expiated by a sincere repentance ; and while we drop a tear over this melancholy instance of human frailty, we must acknowledge with praise the interposition of Divine Providence in his return to the truth. And it seemed necessary that the reformation of the church, being the restoring of the primitive and apostolic doctrine, should have been chiefly carried on by a man thus eminent for primitive and apostolic virtues.

SECTION V.

PERSECUTIONS AND MARTYRDOMS OF VARIOUS PERSONS, AFTER THE DEATH OF ARCHBISHOP CRANMER.

On the 8th of September, 1556, one Edward Sharp was burnt at Bristol ; and on the 25th of the same month, a young man, by trade a carpenter, suffered at the same place.

The day preceding the last martyrdom, John Hart, a shoemaker, and Thomas Ravendale, a currier, were burnt at Mayfield, in Sussex. And on the 27th of the same month, one John Horn, and a woman whose name is unknown, suffered at Wooten-under-Edge, in Gloucestershire.

All these martyrs submitted to their fate with the most Christian fortitude, giving glory to God for having numbered them among the followers and advocates of his most holy gospel.

Five persons starved to death.

The last on record, who suffered for the truth of the gospel in the bloody year 1556, were five persons, (confined, with many others, in Canterbury castle,) who were cruelly starved to death. Their names were as follow : William Foster, Alice Potkins, and

John Archer, who had been condemned; John Clark and Dustan Chittenden, who had not been condemned.

The cruel usage these unhappy persons suffered from their unfeeling persecutors, is displayed in a letter written by one of them, and thrown out of the window of the prison; of which the following is an exact copy :

“Be it known unto all men that shall read, or hear read, these our letters, that we, the poor prisoners of the castle of Canterbury, for God’s truth, are kept and lie in cold irons, and our keepers will not suffer any meat to be brought to us to comfort us. And if any man do bring us any thing, as bread, butter, cheese, or any other food, the said keeper will charge them that so bring us any thing except money or raiment, to carry it them again; or else, if he do receive any food of any for us, he doth keep it for himself, and he and his servants do spend it, so that we have nothing thereof; and thus the keeper keepeth away our victuals from us : insomuch, that there are four of us prisoners there for God’s truth famished already; and thus it is his mind to famish us all : and we think he is appointed thereunto by the bishops and priests, and also of the justices, so to famish us; and not only us of the said castle, but also all other prisoners in other prisons for the like cause, to be also famished; notwithstanding, we write not these our letters, to that intent we might not afford to be famished for the Lord Jesus’ sake, but for this cause and intent, that they, having no law to famish us in prison, should not do it privily, but that the murderers’ hearts should be openly known to all the world, that all men may know of what church they are, and who is their father.—Out of the castle of Canterbury.”

Among the others confined with these five were ten men, who having been examined by Dr. Thornton, suffragan of Dover, and Nicholas Harpsfield, archdeacon of Canterbury, were sentenced to be

burnt. They had been confined a considerable time, but their sentence was, at length, put into execution ; and they were the first who opened the bloody transactions of the year 1557. Their names were as follow : Stephen Kemp, of Norgate ; William Waterer, of Beddingden ; W. Prowting, of Thornham ; W. Lowrick, of Cranbroke ; Thomas Hudson, of Salenge ; William Hay, of Hithe ; Thomas Stephens, of Beddington ; John Philpot, Nicholas Final, and Matthew Bradbridge, all of Tenterden.

The first six were burnt at Canterbury on the 15th of January, 1557 ; Stephens and Philpot suffered the next day at Wye ; and Final and Bradbridge the day after, at Ashford.

They all bore their sufferings with Christian fortitude, rejoicing that their troubles were drawing to an end, and that they should leave this world, for that where the weary are at rest.

Further Persecutions.

Notwithstanding the numerous sacrifices that had been made in various parts of the kingdom, since the accession of queen Mary, in order to gratify the barbarous bigotry of that infuriated princess, yet they were far from being at an end. Naturally disposed to tyranny, and encouraged in her blood-thirsty principles by that monster in human form, Bonner, bishop of London, she determined to compel all her subjects who differed from herself in religious sentiments, either to submit to her maxims, or fall victims to her insatiable vengeance.

To facilitate this horrid intention, in the beginning of February, 1557, she issued the following proclamation, which was, in a great measure, promoted by bishop Bonner, whose diabolical soul, in conjunction with hers, thirsted after the blood of those who worshipped God in purity of heart.

“ Philip and Mary, by the grace of God, king and queen of England, &c. To the right reverend father

in God, our right trusty and well-beloved counsellor Thomas, bishop of Ely, and to our right trusty and well-beloved William Windsore, knight, lord Windsore; Edward North, knight, lord North; and to our trusty and well-beloved counsellor J. Bourn, knight, one of our chief secretaries, J. Mordaunt, knight, Francis Englefield, knight, master of our wards and liveries, Edward Walgrave, knight, master of our great wardrobe, Nicholas Hare, knight, master of the rolls, Thomas Pope, knight, Roger Chomley, knight, Richard Rede, knight, Rowland Hill, knight, William Rastal, sergeant at law, Henry Cole, clerk, dean of Paul's, William Roper, and Ralph Chomley, esquires, William Cook, Thomas Martin, John Story, and John Vaughan, doctors of the law, greeting :

“ Forasynuch as divers devilish and slanderous persons have not only invented, bruted, and set forth divers false rumours, tales, and seditious slanders against us, but also have sown divers heresies and heretical opinions, and set forth divers seditious books within this our realm of England, meaning thereby to stir up division, strife, contention, and sedition, not only amongst our loving subjects, but also betwixt us and our said subjects, with divers other outrageous misdemeanors, enormities, contempts, and offences, daily committed and done, to the disquieting of us and our people; we, minding the due punishment of such offenders, and the repressing of such like offences, enormities, and misbehaviours from henceforth, having special trust and confidence in your fidelities, wisdoms, and discretions, have authorized, appointed, and assigned you to be our commissioners; and by these presents do give full power and authority unto you and three of you, to inquire, as well by the oaths of twelve good and lawful men, as by witnesses, and all other means and politic ways you can devise, of all and singular heretical opinions, lollardies, heretical and seditious books, concealments, contempts, conspiracies, and all false

rumours, tales, seditious and slanderous words or sayings, raised, published, bruited, invented, or set forth against us, or either of us, or against the quiet governance and rule of our people and subjects, by books, lies, tales, or otherwise, in any county, key, bowing, or other place or places, within this our realm of England, or elsewhere, in any place or places, beyond the seas, and of the bringers in, utterers, buyers, sellers, readers, keepers, or conveyers of any such letter, book, rumour, and tale, and of all and every their coadjutors, counsellors, comforters, procurers, abettors, and maintainers, giving unto you, and three of you, full power and authority, by virtue hereof, to search out, and take into your hands and possessions, all manner of heretical and seditious books, letters, and writings, wheresoever they, or any of them shall be found, as well in printers' houses and shops as elsewhere, willing you, and every of you, to search for the same in all places, according to your discretions.

“ And also to inquire, hear, and determine, all and singular enormities, disturbances, misbehaviours, and negligences committed in any church, chapel, or other hallowed place within this realm; and also for and concerning the taking away or withholding any lands, tenements, goods, ornaments, stocks of money, or other things belonging to every of the same churches and chapels, and all accounts and reckonings concerning the same.

“ And also to inquire and search out all such persons as obstinately do refuse to receive the blessed sacrament of the altar, to hear mass, or come to their parish churches, or other convenient places appointed for divine service; and all such as refuse to go on procession, to take holy bread, or holy water, or otherwise do misuse themselves in any church, or other hallowed places, wheresoever any of the same offences have been, or hereafter shall be committed, within this our said realm.

“ Nevertheless, our will and pleasure is, that when, and as often as any person or persons hereafter being called or convened before you do obstinately persist, or stand in any manner of heresy, or heretical opinion, that then ye, or three of you, do immediately take order, that the same person or persons so standing or persisting, be delivered and committed to his ordinary, there to be used according to the spiritual and ecclesiastical laws.

“ And also we give unto you, or three of you, full power and authority to inquire and search out all vagabonds, and masterless men, barretours, quarrellers, and suspected persons, abiding within our city of London, and ten miles compass of the same, and all assaults and affrays done and committed within the same city and compass.

“ And further, to search out all wastes, decays and ruins of churches, chancels, chapels, parsonages and vicarages, in the diocess of the same, being within this realm, giving you, and every of you, full power and authority, by virtue hereof, to hear and determine the same, and all other offences and matters above specified and rehearsed, according to your wisdoms, consciences, and discretions, willing and commanding you, or three of you, from time to time, to use and devise all such ways and means for the trial and searching out of the premises, as by you, or three of you, shall be thought most expedient and necessary : and upon inquiry, and due proof had, known, perceived, and tried out, by the confession of the parties, or by sufficient witnesses before you, or three of you, concerning the premises, or any part thereof, or by any other ways or means requisite, to give and award such punishment to the offenders, by fine, imprisonment, or otherwise : and to take such order for redress and reformation of the premises, as to your wisdoms, or three of you, shall be thought meet and convenient.

“ Further willing and commanding you, and any

three of you, in case you shall find any person, or persons, obstinate or disobedient, either in their appearance before you, or three of you, at your calling or assignment, or else in not accomplishing, or not obeying your decrees, orders, and commandments, in any thing or things, touching the premises, or any part thereof, to commit the same person, or persons, so offending, to ward, there to remain, till by you, or three of you, he be discharged or delivered, &c."

Martyrdom of five women and two men at Maidstone.

After this proclamation, the storm of persecution began in all places to rage anew, but no where more than in the diocess of Canterbury, as the inquisition was there under the direction of Richard Thornton, bishop of Dover, and the archdeacon of Canterbury, who were so furious against the harmless flock of Christ, that they needed not the proclamation to stir up the coals of their burning cruelty, but yet were enabled by it to gratify to a greater extent their diabolical malice against the believers. We have already given several instances of the furious persecutions in this diocess, and we have now to add the following, wherein seven innocents were committed to the flames by these monsters, under the pretence of *religion* !

In the next month following, being the 18th day of June, were seven Christian and faithful martyrs of Christ burned at Maidstone, whose names here follow :

Joan Bradbridge, of Staplehurst ; Walter Appleby, of Maidstone ; Petronil, his wife ; Edmund Allin, of Frytenden ; Catharine, his wife ; John Manning's wife, of Maidstone ; Elizabeth, a blind maiden.

As concerning the general articles commonly objected to them in the public consistory, and the order of their condemnation, it differeth not much from the usual manner expressed before, neither did their answers in effect much differ from the others that

suffered under the same ordinary in the aforesaid diocess at Canterbury.

Scourging of Thomas Hinshaw, by Bonner.

When bishop Bonner found that his examinations, persuasions, threats, and imprisonments, were to no purpose with Thomas Hinshaw, one of those who had been apprehended at Islington, he took him to Fulham, where, immediately after his coming, he was set in the stocks, remaining there all the first night, with no other refreshment than bread and water.

The next morning the bishop came and examined him himself, and perceiving no yielding in his mind, he sent Mr. Harpsfield to talk with him ; who, after a long dispute, at last fell into a passion, calling Hinshaw "peevish boy," and asking him "whether he thought he went about to damn his soul, or no?" &c. To all this Hinshaw answered, "That he was persuaded that they laboured to maintain their dark and devilish kingdom, and not for any love of truth." Harpsfield, being greatly incensed, told the bishop of this ; who was thereat in as great a rage as himself, and, although scarce able to speak for anger, cried out, "Dost thou answer my archdeacon so, thou naughty boy ? I shall handle thee well enough, be assured." He then sent for a couple of rods, and causing Hinshaw to kneel against a long bench in an arbour in his garden, severely scourged him with his own hands, till he was compelled to desist, from fatigue.

After this scourging, Hinshaw was several times examined : and at last being brought before the bishop in his chapel at Fulham, articles were exhibited against him, which the young man denied, and would not affirm, or consent to any of their interrogatories.

Being remanded to prison, about a fortnight after he fell sick of an ague, whereupon he was delivered, after much entreaty, to his master, Martin Pugson, in St. Paul's church-yard ; for the bishop thought he

was more likely to die than to live; indeed his sickness continued a twelve-month or more, so that in the mean time queen Mary died. He shortly after recovered his health, and thus escaped the death designed for him by the persecutors.

Martyrdom of John Corneford, Christopher Browne, John Herst, Alice Snoth, and Catharine Knight, (alias Tinley.)

These five persons were the last who suffered in queen Mary's reign for the testimony of that word for which so many had died before, and gave up their lives meekly and patiently, suffering the violent malice of the papists.

The matter why they were judged to the fire was, for believing the body not to be in the sacrament of the altar, unless it be received:

For confessing that an evil man doth not receive Christ's body:

That it is idolatry to creep to the cross, and that St. John forbiddeth it, saying, "Beware of images:"

For confessing that we should not pray to saints, because they be not omnipotent.

For these and other similar articles of Christian doctrine, they were committed to the flames. Notwithstanding the sickness of queen Mary, whereof they were not ignorant, the archdeacon and others of Canterbury hastened to despatch the martyrdom of these persons, before her death, which was daily expected, should deprive them of the power.

In so doing this archdeacon proved himself more bigoted and bloodthirsty than ever Bonner, who, notwithstanding he had some at the same time under his custody, yet did not hurry them to the stake, as appears by several persons who, being then in his prison, were delivered by the death of queen Mary.

We have not any particulars relative to the examinations, &c. of the five persons above named, but the following anecdotes of two of them are given by the Martyrologist.

Catharine Tinley was the mother of one Robert Tinley, dwelling in Maidstone, which Robert was in trouble all queen Mary's time. To whom his mother coming to visit him, asked him how he took this place of scripture which she had seen, not by reading of the scripture, (for she had yet in manner no taste of religion,) but had found it by chance in a book of prayers, "I will pour out my Spirit upon all flesh, and your sons and your daughters shall prophesy; your old men shall dream dreams, and your young men shall see visions. And also upon the servants and upon the maids in those days will I pour my Spirit," &c. Which place after that he had expounded to her, she began to take hold on the gospel, growing more and more in love and zeal thereof, and so continued unto her martyrdom.

Among such women as were burned at Canterbury, it is recorded of a certain maid, and supposed to be this Alice Snoth mentioned in this story, or else to be Agnes Snoth, of whom an account is given in a preceding page, that when she was brought to be executed, she being at the stake, called for her godfathers and godmothers. The justice hearing her, sent for them, but they durst not come. Notwithstanding the justices willed the messenger to go again, and to show them that they should incur no danger thereof.

Then they hearing that, came to know the matter of their sending for. When the maid saw them, she asked them what they had promised for her, and so she immediately rehearsed her faith, and the commandments of God, and required of them, if there were any more that they had promised in her behalf; and they said, No.

Then, said she, I die a Christian woman, bear witness of me; and she was consumed in fire, and gave up her life joyfully for the testimony of Christ's gospel, to the terror of the wicked, and comfort of the godly, and also to the stopping of the slanderous mouths of such as falsely do quarrel against the faith-

ful martyrs, for going from that religion wherein by their godfathers and godmothers they were at first baptized.

Condemnation of John Hunt and Richard White, who escaped the fire by the death of queen Mary.

Several others were imprisoned in various places, whereof some were but lately taken and not examined, some were examined but not condemned, and others had been both examined and condemned, but the warrants for their execution not being signed, they escaped. Nay, of some the writ had been brought down for their burning, and yet by the death of the chancellor, the bishop, and of queen Mary, happening about one time, they most happily and miraculously were preserved, and lived many years after. Of these were John Hunt and Richard White, imprisoned at Salisbury, of whom the history is given as follows:

“These two good men had been in prison at Salisbury, and other places thereabouts, more than two years; were often called to examination, and manifold ways impugned by the bishops and priests. As a specimen we shall give the examination of Richard White, before Dr. Capon, the bishop of Salisbury, Dr. Brookes, the bishop of Gloucester, with Dr. Geoffrey, the chancellor, and other priests, with whom first the bishop of Gloucester, who had the examination of him, began thus:

“On being interrogated for what cause he came hither, White answered that he desired to know the cause, and referred to the Register as to his examination at Marlborough. After some irrelevant matter he was asked his opinion of the sacrament of the altar, when they stumbled upon the very definition of a sacrament, a word first framed by St. Augustine, and not to be found in the scripture; and White declared that Christ and his sacraments are alike, and that in both are two natures; in the one, a divine

and human nature, in the other, an external and internal; the external being the element of bread and wine, and the internal the invisible grace. He afterwards observed that Christ, as God, is in all places; but as man, only in one place. After some other questions, equally appropriate, and answers not more satisfactory to his persecutors, he was ordered away to the Lollards' Tower. They were sent for to be condemned by the chancellor, who delivered them to the sheriff in order to execution.

"The sheriff, Sir Anthony Hungerford, being advised by his son-in-law, Mr. Clifford, of Bosco, (perhaps Boscumb,) in Wilts, deferred their execution, until he received the writ *de comburendo*; and was supported therein by Mr. Justice Brown, on which he left the town, and the chancellor rode after him, to know why he had not seen them executed.

"The sheriff, hearing the chancellor's words, and seeing him so urgent upon him, told him again that he was no babe, which now was to be taught of him. If he had any writ to warrant and discharge him in burning those men, then he knew what he had to do; but if you have no other writ but that which you signed, I tell you I will neither burn them for you, nor any of you all.

"Where note again, (good reader,) how by this it may be thought and supposed, that the other poor saints and martyrs of God, such as had been burned at Salisbury before, were burned belike without any authorized or sufficient writ from the superiors, but only from the information of the chancellor and of the close.

"Dr. Geoffrey, the chancellor, thus sent away from the sheriff, went home, and there fell sick upon the same.

"The under sheriff to this Sir Anthony Hungerford, above named, was one Mr. Michell, a godly man. So that not long after this came down the writ to burn the above named Richard White and John Hunt;

but the under sheriff said, I will not be guilty of these men's blood; and immediately burnt the writing, and departed his way. Within four days after, the chancellor died; concerning whose death this cometh by the way to be noted, that these two aforesaid, John Hunt and Richard White, being at the same time in a low and dark dungeon, suddenly fell to such a weeping, (but how they could not tell,) that they could not pray one word; the first word they heard in the morning was, that the chancellor was dead, which happened the same hour when they fell into such a sudden weeping. Richard White and John Hunt, after the death of the chancellor, the bishop also being dead a little before, continued still in prison till the happy coming in of queen Elizabeth; and so were set at liberty."

Death of Queen Mary.

Happy are we to say, that the five persons mentioned above completed the number of human sacrifices in this island. They were the last who fell victims to gratify the malevolent heart of Bonner, and the bigoted zeal of the unfeeling and relentless Mary.

The queen's health had been long declining. She had, for some time, been afflicted with the dropsy, the consequence of a false conception, and of the improper regimen which she pursued. Her malady was greatly augmented by the anxiety of her mind, which was a prey to the most painful reflections. The consciousness of being hated by her subjects; the mortification of being childless; the fear of leaving her crown to a sister, whom she detested; the approaching ruin that threatened the Catholic religion in England on her death; the indifference of her husband, (Philip of Spain,) who, never having loved her, had now ceased to treat her even with the outward show of affection, and had retired into his own country in disgust: all these painful circumstances preyed upon her mind, and at length threw her into a

slow fever, of which she died on the 15th of November, 1558, in the forty-third year of her age, and the sixth of her reign.

When we consider the bigoted zeal of this infatuated princess, and the great number of valuable lives sacrificed through her arbitrary mandates, we are naturally led to condemn her, first, as a fellow-creature, and next, as a sovereign; but more particularly in the latter character, because, as Providence had placed her in so distinguished a rank, she should have held out the arm of protection to her subjects, instead of the sword of destruction. But the whole progress of her reign does not furnish us with a single instance of merit in her, either as a woman or a sovereign. On the contrary, all her actions were of the most horrid and gloomy cast; and the barbarities she committed, during her reign, were such as to exceed description. With her the practice of religion became the trade of murder, and the care of her people the exercise of her cruelty; while all her views for their happiness, terminated in punishments for their virtues. Her bigotry infected every branch of government, and weakened every bond of society. She had not any thing engaging, either in her person, her behaviour, or her address: her understanding was confined within very narrow limits, and her temper was morose and gloomy; while obstinacy, bigotry, violence, malignity, revenge, and tyranny, directed all her actions.

The death of queen Mary revived the drooping spirits of the long-oppressed protestants. They now anticipated the peaceful period, when they should no longer be persecuted for their religion; and when their virtues would not expose them to the rage of ignorance and bigotry.

Nor were they mistaken: Elizabeth was as strong an advocate for the protestant religion, as her predecessor had been inveterate against it. No sooner did she ascend the throne, than her attention was directed

to the protection of the professors of the reformed religion; but she did this in so wise and prudent a manner, as to prevent any disturbance from the opposite party. By her distinguished management, in a short time, she fixed the protestant religion on so solid a basis, as to prevent its being again overthrown; and ever since her reign, though various attempts have been made to destroy it, they have all terminated in the defeat of the conspirators, and the ruin of their projects. That they may always so terminate, should be the fervent prayer of every one who prefers purity to corruption, and the decent worship of the reformed churches, to the frivolous ceremonies and pompous nothingness of the Popish worship.

SECTION VI.

Miraculous preservation of the lady Elizabeth from extreme calamity and danger in the time of queen Mary, her sister.

When all hath been said and told, whatsoever can be recited touching the admirable working of God's present hand in defending and delivering any one person out of thralldom, never was there, since the memory of our fathers, any example to be showed, wherein the Lord's mighty power hath more admirably showed itself, to the glory of his own name, to the comfort of all good hearts, and to the public felicity of this whole realm, than in the miraculous escape of the lady Elizabeth in the time of queen Mary, her sister.

Before she was crowned, Mary would go no whither, but would have her by the hand, and send for Elizabeth to dinner and supper; but after she was crowned, she never dined nor supped with her, but kept her apart from her, &c. After this it happened, immediately upon the rising of sir Thomas Wyat, that the lady Elizabeth and lord Courtney were

charged with false suspicion of sir Thomas Wyat's rising. Whereupon queen Mary, whether for that surmise, or for what other cause I know not, being offended with the said lady Elizabeth, her sister, at that time lying in her house at Ashbridge, the next day after the rising of Wyat, sent to her three of her counsellors, to wit, sir Richard Southwell, sir Edward Hastings, then master of the horse, and sir Thomas Cornwallis, with their retinue and troop of horsemen, to the number of two hundred and fifty, who, at their sudden and unprovided coming, found her at the same time sick in her bed, and very feeble and weak of body. Whither when they came, ascending up to her grace's chamber, they desired one of her ladies, whom they met, to declare to her grace, that there were divers come from the court who had a message from the queen.

Her grace having knowledge thereof, was right glad of their coming; however, being then very sick, and the night far spent, (which was at ten o'clock,) she requested them by the messenger, that they would resort thither in the morning. To this they answered, that they must needs see her, and would so do, in what case soever she were. Whereat the lady being surprised, went to show her grace their words, but they hastily following her, came rushing as soon as she into her grace's chamber unbidden.

At whose sudden coming into her bedchamber, her grace, being greatly amazed, said unto them, Is the haste such that it might not have pleased you to come to-morrow in the morning?

They made answer, that they were right sorry to see her in that case; and I (said she) am not glad to see you here at this time of the night. Whereupon they answered, that they came from the queen to do their message and duty, which was to this effect, that the queen's pleasure was, that she should be at London the seventh day of that present month. Whereunto she said, Certainly no creature can be more glad

than I to come to her majesty, being right sorry that I am not in a case at this time to wait on her, as you yourselves do see, and can well testify.

Indeed we see it true, said they, that you do say ; for which we are very sorry, although we let you to understand, that our commission is such, and so straiteneth us, that we must needs bring you with us, either alive or dead. Whereat she being amazed, sorrowfully said, that their commission was very sore : but yet notwithstanding she hoped it would be otherwise, and not so straight. Yes, verily, said they. Whereupon they calling for two physicians, Dr. Owen and Dr. Wendy, demanded of them whether she might be removed from thence with life, or no ? Whose answer and judgment was, that there was no impediment in their opinion to the contrary, but that she might travel without danger of life.

In conclusion, they desired her to prepare against the next morning, at nine o'clock, to go with them, declaring that they had brought with them the queen's litter for her. After much talk, the messengers, declaring how there was no prolonging of times and days, departed to their chamber.

The next morning, at the time prescribed, they had her forth as she was, very faint and feeble, and in such case that she was ready to swoon three or four times between them.

Now to proceed in her journey from Ashbridge. Sick in the litter, she came to Redborne, where she was guarded all night ; from thence to St. Alban's, to sir Ralph Rowlet's house, where she tarried that night, both feeble in body, and comfortless in mind. From thence they passed to Mr. Dod's house at Mims, where they also remained that night ; and so from thence she came to Highgate, where she, being very sick, tarried that night and the next day. During which time of her abode, there came many pursuivants and messengers from the court, but for what purpose I cannot tell.

From that place she was conveyed to the court, where by the way came to meet her many gentlemen to accompany her highness, who were very sorry to see her in that situation. But especially a great multitude of people were standing by the way, who then flocked about her litter, lamenting and bewailing greatly her estate. Now when she came to the court, her grace was there shut up, and kept a close prisoner, a fortnight, which was till Palm-Sunday, seeing neither king nor queen, nor lord nor friend, all that time, but only the then lord chamberlain, sir John Gage, and the vice-chamberlain, which were attendant unto the doors. About which time sir William Sentlowe was called before the council. To whose charge was laid, that he knew of Wyat's rebellion, which he stoutly denied, protesting that he was a true man both to God and his prince, defying all traitors and rebels; but being straitly examined, he was in conclusion committed to the Tower.

The Friday before Palm-Sunday, the bishop of Winchester, with nineteen others of the council, came unto her grace from the queen's majesty, and burdened her with Wyat's conspiracy; which she utterly denied, affirming that she was altogether guiltless therein. They being not contented with this, charged her grace with business made by sir Peter Carew, and the rest of the gentlemen of the west country; which also she utterly denied, clearing her innocence therein.

In conclusion, after long debating of matters, they declared unto her, that it was the queen's will and pleasure that she should go unto the Tower, while the matter was further tried and examined.

Whereat she being amazed, said that she trusted the queen's majesty would be a more gracious lady unto her, and that her highness would not otherwise conceive of her but that she was a true woman; declaring furthermore to the lords, that she was innocent in all those matters wherein they had hardened

her, and desired them therefore to be a further means to the queen her sister, that she being a true woman in thought, word, and deed, towards her majesty, might not be committed to so notorious and doleful a place ; protesting that she should request no favour at her hand, if she should be proved to have consented unto any such kind of matter as they laid unto her charge, and therefore, in fine, desired their lordships to think of her what she was, and that she might not so extremely be dealt withal for her truth.

Whereunto the lords answered again, that there was no remedy, for that the queen's majesty was fully determined that she should go unto the Tower. Wherewith the lords departed, with their caps hanging over their eyes. But not long after, within the space of an hour, or little more, came four of the aforesaid lords of the council, which were the lord treasurer, the bishop of Winchester, the lord steward, the earl of Sussex, with the guard ; who, warding the next chamber to her, secluded all her gentlemen and yeomen, ladies and gentlewomen : except that for one gentleman usher, three gentlewomen, and two grooms of her chamber, were appointed in their rooms three other men of the queen's and three waiting women, to give attendance likewise upon her, that none should have access to her grace.

At which time there was a hundred northern soldiers in white coats, watching and wandering about the gardens all that night, and a great fire being made in the midst of the hall, two certain lords were watching there also with their band and company.

Upon Saturday following, two lords of the council (the one was the earl of Sussex, the other shall be nameless) came and certified her grace, that she must go forthwith unto the Tower, the barge being prepared for her, and the tide now ready, which tarrieth for nobody. In heavy mood her grace requested the lords that she might tarry another tide, trusting that the next would be better and more comfort-

able. But one of the lords replied, that neither time nor tide was to be delayed.

And when her grace requested him that she might be suffered to write to the queen's majesty, he answered, that he durst not permit that: adding, that in his judgment it would rather hurt than profit her grace in so doing.

But the other lord, more courteous and favourable, (who was the earl of Sussex,) kneeling down, told her grace, that she should have liberty to write, and as he was a true man, he would deliver it to the queen's highness, and bring an answer of the same, whatsoever came thereof. Whereupon she wrote, although she could in no case be suffered to speak with the queen, to her great discomfort, being no offender against the queen's majesty.

And thus the time and tide passed away for that season, they privily appointing all things ready that she should go the next tide, which fell about midnight: but for fear she should be taken by the way, they durst not. So they stayed till the next day, being Palm-Sunday, when about nine o'clock these two returned again, declaring that it was time for her grace to depart. She answered, if there be no remedy, I must be contented, willing the lords to go on before. Being come forth into the garden, she cast her eyes towards the window, thinking to see the queen, which she could not. Whereat she said, she marvelled much what the nobility of the realm meant, which in that sort would suffer her to be led into captivity, the Lord knew whither, for she did not. In the mean time commandment was given throughout London, that every one should keep the church, and carry their palms, while in the mean season she might be conveyed without any concourse of people to the Tower.

After this, she took her barge, with the two aforesaid lords, three of the queen's gentlewomen, and three of her own, her gentleman usher and two of

her grooms lying and hovering upon the water a certain space, for that they could not shoot the bridge, the bargemen being very unwilling to shoot the same so soon as they did, because of the danger thereof: for the stern of the boat struck upon the ground, the fall was so great and the water was so shallow, that the boat being under the bridge, there stayed again awhile. At landing, she first stayed, and refused to land at those stairs, where all traitors and offenders customarily used to land; neither could she well, unless she should go over her shoes. The lords were gone out of the boat before, and asked why she came not. One of the lords went back again to her, and brought word she would not come.

Then said one of the lords, (who shall be nameless,) that she should not choose; and because it did then rain, he offered to her his cloak, which she, putting it back with her hand with a good dash, refused. She coming out, having one foot upon the stairs, said, here landeth as true a subject, being prisoner, as ever landed at these stairs: and before thee, O God, I speak it, having no other friends but thee alone.

To whom the same lord answered again, that if it were so, it was the better for her. At her landing there was a great multitude of their servants and warders standing in their order. What needed all this? said she. It is the use, said some, so to be when any prisoner came thither. And if it be, quoth she, for my cause, I beseech you that they may be dismissed. Whereat the poor men kneeled down, and with one voice desired God to preserve her grace.

After this, passing a little further, she sat down upon a stone, and there rested herself. To whom the lieutenant then being said, madam, you were best to come out of the rain, for you sit unwholesomely. She then replying, answered again, it is better sitting here than in a worse place; for God knoweth, I know not whither you will bring me. With that her gentleman usher wept; she demanding of him what

he meant by using her so uncomfortably, seeing she took him to be her comfort, and not to dismay her, especially for that she knew her truth to be such, that no man should have cause to weep for her. But forth she went into prison.

The doors were locked and bolted upon her, which greatly discomfited and dismayed her grace. At which time she called to her gentlewoman for her book, desiring God not to suffer her to build her foundation upon the sands, but upon the rock, whereby all blasts of blustering weather should have no power against her. The doors being thus locked, and she close shut up, the lords had great conference how to keep ward and watch, every man declaring his own opinion in that behalf, agreeing straitly and circumspectly to keep her.

Then one of them, which was the lord of Sussex, swearing, said, my lords, let us take heed, and do no more than our commission will bear us out in, whatsoever shall happen hereafter. And further, let us consider that she was the king our master's daughter; and therefore let us use such dealing, that we may answer it hereafter, if it shall so happen: for just dealing (quoth he) is always answerable; whereunto the other lords agreed that it was well said of him, and thereupon departed. Being in the Tower, within two days commandment was, that she should have mass within her house. One Mr. Young was then her chaplain, and because there were none of her men so well learned to help the priest to say mass, the mass stayed for that day.

It would make a pitiful and strange story here by the way, to recite what examination and rackings of poor men there were to find out the knife that should cut her throat; what gaping among my lords of the clergy to see the day wherein they might wash their goodly white rochets in her innocent blood; but especially the bishop of Winchester, Stephen Gardiner, then lord chancellor, who, within five days af-

ter, came unto her, with divers others of the council, and examined her of the talk that was at Ashbridge, between her and sir James Acroft, concerning her removing from thence to Dunnington castle, requiring her to declare what she meant thereby.

At the first, she being so suddenly asked, did not well remember any such house ; but within a while, well advising herself, she said, indeed I do now remember that I have such a place, but I never lay in it in all my life. And as for any that hath moved me thereunto, I do not remember.

Then to enforce the matter, they brought forth sir James Acroft. The bishop of Winchester demanded of her what she said to that name. She answered, that she had little to say to him, or to the rest that were then prisoners in the Tower : but, my lords, said she, you do examine every mean prisoner of me, wherein methinks you do me great injury. If they have done evil, and offended the queen's majesty, let them answer to it accordingly. I beseech you, my lords, join not me in this sort with any of these offenders. And as concerning my going unto Dunnington castle, I do remember that Mr. Hobby and mine officers, and you, sir James Acroft, had such talk ; but what is that to the purpose, my lords, but that I may go to mine own houses at all times ?

The lord of Arundel kneeling down, said, your grace saith true, and certainly we are very sorry that we have troubled you about so vain matters. She then said, my lords, you do sift me very narrowly : but well I am assured, you shall not do more to me than God hath appointed ; and so God forgive you all.

At their departure, sir James Acroft kneeled down, declaring he was sorry to see the day in which he should be brought as a witness against her grace. But I assure your grace, said he, I have been marvellously tossed and examined touching your highness, which, the Lord knoweth, is very strange to

me: for I take God to record, before all your honours, I do not know any thing of that crime that you have laid to my charge, and will thereupon take my death, if I should be driven to so strict a trial.

That day, or thereabouts, divers of her own officers, who had made provision for her diet, brought the same to the outer gate of the Tower, the common soldiers receiving it; which was no small grief unto the gentlemen, the bringers thereof. Wherefore they desired to speak with the lord chamberlain, who was then constable of the Tower. On coming into his presence, they declared unto his lordship, that they were much afraid to bring her grace's diet, and to deliver it to such common and desperate persons as those who received it, beseeching his honour to consider her grace, and to give such order, that her viands might at all times be brought in by them, who had been appointed for that purpose. Yea, sirs, said he, who appointed you this office? They answered, her grace's council. Council! said he: there is none of them which hath to do either in that case, or any thing else within this place; and I assure you, for that she is a prisoner, she shall be served by the lieutenant's men, as other the prisoners are. One of the gentlemen on this told him, that they trusted for more favour from his hands, considering her personage: and added, that they imagined the queen and her council would be better to her grace than so; and showed themselves to be offended at the ungracious words of the lord chamberlain respecting their lady and mistress.

On this he swore by God, striking himself upon the breast, that if they did either frown or shrug at him, he would set them where they should see neither sun nor moon. Thus taking their leave, they desired God to bring him into a better mind towards her grace, and departed from him.

Upon which occasion, her grace's officers made great suit unto the queen's council, that some pro-

per persons might be appointed to bring her grace's diet unto her, and that it might no more be delivered by the common soldiers of the Tower: which being reasonably considered, was by them permitted; and one of her gentlemen, her clerk of the kitchen, and her two purveyors, were appointed to bring in her provision once a day: the warders, however, continued to wait upon them on these occasions.

The lord chamberlain himself, being always with them, circumspectly and narrowly watched and searched what they brought, and took care that they should have no talk with any of her grace's waiting servants, and so guarded them both in and out. At the said suit of her officers, were sent, by the commandment of the council, to wait upon her grace, two yeomen of her chamber, one of her robes, two of her pantry and ewry, one of her buttery, another of her cellar, two of her kitchen, and one of her larder, all which continued with her the time of her trouble.

Here the constable, being at the first not very well pleased with the coming in of such a company against his will, would have had his men still to have served with her grace's men; which her servants would by no means suffer, desiring his lordship to be contented, for that orders were given, that no stranger should come within their offices. At which answer being sore displeased, he broke out into these threatening words, well, I will handle you well enough! Then he went into the kitchen, and there would needs have his meat roasted with her grace's, and said, that his cook should come thither and dress it. To that her grace's cook answered, my lord, I will never suffer any stranger to come about her diet, but her own sworn men, as long as I live. He said they should. But the cook said, his lordship should pardon him for that matter. Thus did he trouble her poor servants grievously; though afterward he was otherwise advised, and they were more courteously used at his

hands. And good cause why : for he had good cheer, and fared of the best, and her grace paid well for it. Wherefore he used himself afterward more reverently toward her grace.

Having been a whole month there in a close prison, and being on that account uneasy, she sent for the lord chamberlain and the lord Chandois to come and speak with her. When they were come, she requested them that she might have liberty to walk in some place, for that she felt herself not well. To which they answered, that they were right sorry that they could not satisfy her grace's request, for that they had commandment to the contrary, which they durst not in any wise break. She then desired of them, if that could not be granted, that she might but walk in the queen's lodging. No, nor yet that, they answered, could by any means be obtained without a further suit to the queen and her council. Well, said she, my lords, if the matter be so hard that they must be sued unto for so small a thing, and that friendship be so strict, God comfort me : and so they departed, she remaining in her old dungeon still, without any kind of comfort but only God.

The next day lord Chandois came unto her grace, declaring unto her that he had applied to the council for further liberty. Some of them consented thereunto, divers others dissented, for that there were so many prisoners in the Tower. But, in conclusion, they did all agree that her grace might walk into those lodgings, so that he, and the lord chamberlain, and three of the queen's gentlewomen, did accompany her, the windows being shut, and she not suffered to look out at any of them : wherewith she contented herself, and gave him thanks for his good will in that behalf.

Afterwards there was liberty granted to her grace to walk in a little garden, the doors and gates being shut up, which was as much discomfort to her, as the walk in the garden was pleasant and acceptable. At

which times of her walking there, the prisoners on that side were strictly commanded not to speak or look out of her windows into the garden, till her grace was gone out again, having their keepers waiting upon them for that time. Thus her grace with this small liberty contented herself in God, to whom be praise therefore.

The fifth day of May, the constable of the Tower was discharged from his office, and one Sir Henry Benifield placed in his room, a man unknown to her grace, and therefore the more feared; which sudden alteration occasioned her no small surprise.

On Trinity Sunday, being the nineteenth day of May, she was removed to the Tower, and conveyed to Woodstock, where she was enclosed, as before in the Tower of London, the soldiers guarding both within and without the walls, every day, to the number of sixty; and in the night without the walls forty, during the time of her imprisonment there.

At length she had gardens appointed for her to walk in, which was very comfortable to her grace. But always when she recreated herself therein, the doors were fast locked up, in as strict a manner as they were in the Tower, being at least five or six locks between her lodgings and her walks; Sir Henry himself keeping the keys, and trusting no man therewith. Whereupon she called him her jailer: and he kneeling down, desired her grace not to call him so, for he was appointed there to be one of her officers. From such officers (quoth she,) good Lord, deliver me.

And now by the way, as digressing, or rather refreshing the reader, if it be lawful in so serious a story to recite a matter incident, and yet not impertinent to the same; occasion here moveth, or rather inforceth me to touch briefly what happened in the same place and time, by a certain merry conceited man, being then about her grace: who observing the strict and strange keeping of his lady and mistress,

by the said Sir Henry Benifield, with so many locks and doors, with such a watch and guard about her, as was strange and wonderful, espied a goat in the ward where her grace was; and whether to refresh her oppressed mind, or to notify her strait handling by Sir Henry, or else both, he took it upon his neck, and followed her grace therewith as she was going into her lodging.

Which when she saw, she asked him what he would do with it, desiring him to let it alone. The man answered, no, by St. Mary (if it please your grace,) will I not; for I cannot tell, whether he be one of the queen's friends or not. I will carry him to Sir Henry Benifield (God willing) to know what he is; so leaving her grace, he went with the goat on his neck, and carried it to Sir Henry: who when he saw him coming with it, asked him, half angrily, what he had there.

Unto whom the man answered, saying, sir, I cannot tell what he is. I pray you examine him, for I found him in the place where my lady's grace was walking, and what talk they have had I cannot tell. For I understand him not, but he should seem to me to be some stranger, and I think verily a Welchman, for he hath a white frieze coat on his back. And forsomuch as I being the queen's subject, and perceiving the strict charge committed to you, that no stranger should have access to her without sufficient license, I have here found a stranger (what he is I cannot tell,) in the place where her grace was walking; and therefore for the necessary discharge of my duty, I thought it good to bring the said stranger to you, to examine as you see cause; and so he set him down. At this Sir Henry seemed much displeased, and said, well, well, you will never leave this gear, I see; and so they departed.

Now to return to the matter from whence we have digressed, after her grace had been there a time, she applied to the council for leave to write to the queen

This at last was permitted. So Sir Henry Benifield brought her pen, ink, and paper ; and standing by her while she wrote (which he strictly observed,) she being sometimes weary, he would carry away her letters, and bring them again when she called for them. When she had finished, he would fain have been messenger to the queen with the same. Whose request her grace denied, saying one of her own men should carry them, and that she would neither trust him, nor any of his, with them.

Then he answered again, saying, none of them durst be so bold (he thought) as to carry her letters for her in her present situation. Yes, said she, I am assured I have none so dishonest as to deny my request in that behalf, but will be as willing to serve me now as before. Well, said he, my commission is to the contrary, and I may not so suffer it. Her grace replying again, said, you charge me very often with your commission. I pray God you may justly answer the cruel dealings you use toward me.

Then he kneeling down, desired her grace to think and consider how he was a servant, and put in trust there by the queen to serve her majesty ; protesting, that if the case were hers, he would as willingly serve her grace, as now he did the queen's highness. For which answer her grace thanked him, desiring God that she might never have need of such servants as he was ; declaring further to him, that his doings towards her were not good nor answerable, but more than all the friends he had would stand by.

To whom Sir Henry replied, and said, that there was no remedy but his doings must be answered, and so they should, trusting to make good account thereof. The cause which moved her grace so to say, was, for that he would not permit her letters to be carried four or five days after the writing thereof. But, in fine, he was content to send for her gentleman from the town of Woodstock, demanding of him whether he durst enterprize the carriage of her

grace's letters to the queen, or no; and he answered, yes sir, that I dare, and will with all my heart. Whereupon Sir Henry, half against his will, took them unto him.

Then about the eighth of June came down Dr. Owen and Dr. Wendy, sent by the queen to her grace, for that she was sickly; who ministering to her, and letting her blood, tarried there, and attended on her grace five or six days. Then she being well amended, they returned again to the court, making their good report to the queen and council of her grace's behaviour and humility towards the queen's highness. Which her majesty hearing, took very thankfully; but the bishops repined thereat, looked black in the mouth, and told the queen they marvelled much that she submitted not herself to her majesty's mercy, considering that she had offended her highness.

About this time, her grace was requested by a secret friend to submit herself to the queen's majesty, which would be well taken, and to her great quiet and advantage. Unto whom she answered, that she would never submit herself to them whom she never offended. For (quoth she) if I have offended and am guilty, I then crave no mercy, but the law, which I am certain I should have had before this, if it could be proved by me. For I know myself (I thank God) to be out of the danger thereof, wishing that I were as clear out of the peril of my enemies; and then I am assured I should not be so locked and bolted up within walls and doors as I am. God give them a better mind when it pleaseth him.

About this time there was a great consultation among the bishops and gentlemen, touching the marriage of her grace, which some of the Spaniards wished to be with some stranger, that she might go out of the realm with her portion; some saying one thing and some another.

A lord (who shall be here nameless) being there, at last said, that the king should never have any quiet

commonwealth in England, unless her head was severed from her shoulders. Whereunto the Spaniards answered, saying, God forbid that their king and master should have that mind to consent to such a mischief.

This was the courteous answer of the Spaniards to the Englishmen, speaking after that sort against their own country. From that day the Spaniards never left off their good persuasions to the king, that the like honour he should never obtain, as he should in delivering the lady Elizabeth's grace out of prison; whereby at length she was happily released from the same. Here is a plain and evident example of the good clemency and nature of the king and his counsellors toward her grace, (praised be God therefor,) who moved their hearts therein. Then hereupon she was sent for shortly after to come to Hampton-court.

But before her removing away from Woodstock, we will stay a little to declare in what dangers her life was during the time she remained there: first through fire, which began to kindle between the boards and ceiling under the chamber where she lay, whether by a spark of fire getting accidentally into a crevice, or whether for the purpose by some that meant her no good, the Lord doth know. Nevertheless, a worshipful knight of Oxfordshire, which was there joined the same time with sir Henry Benfield in keeping that lady, (who then took up the boards and quenched the fire,) verily supposed it to be done for the purpose.

Furthermore it is thought and affirmed (for truth) of one Paul Penny, the keeper of Woodstock, a notorious ruffian, and a butchery wretch, that he was appointed to assassinate the said lady Elizabeth; who both saw the man, being often in her sight, and also knew thereof.

Another time, one of the privy chamber, a great man about the queen, and chief darling of Stephen Gardiner, named James Basset, came to Blanden-

bridge, a mile from Woodstock, with twenty or thirty privy coats, and sent for sir Henry Benifield to come and speak with him. But as God would, who disposeth all things according to his own will, so it happened, that a little before, the said sir Henry Benifield was sent for by post to the council, leaving strict word behind him with his brother, that no man, whosoever he were, though coming with a note of the queen's hand, or any other warrant, should have access to her before his return again. By reason whereof it so fell out, that Mr. Benifield's brother, coming to him at the bridge, would suffer him in no case to come in, otherwise (as is supposed) was appointed violently to murder the innocent lady.

There moreover is to be noted, that during the imprisonment of this lady and princess, one Mr. Edmund Tremaine was on the rack, and Mr. Smith-wike, and others in the Tower, were examined, and divers offers made to them to accuse the guiltless lady, being in her captivity. Howbeit, all that notwithstanding, no matter could be proved by all examinations, as she the same time lying at Woodstock had certain intelligence by the means of one John Gayer; who under a colourable pretence of a letter to Mrs. Cleve from her father, was let in, and so gave them secretly to understand of all this matter. Whereupon the lady Elizabeth, at her departing out from Woodstock, wrote these lines with her diamond in a glass window:

Much suspected by me,
Nothing proved can be,
Quoth ELIZABETH, Prisoner.

And thus much touching the troubles of lady Elizabeth at Woodstock. Whereunto this is more to be added, that during the same time, the lord of Tame had laboured to the queen, and became surety for her, to have her from Woodstock to his house, and had obtained a grant thereof. Thereupon preparation was made accordingly, and all things ready in

expectation of her coming. But through the procurement either of Mr. Benifield, or by the advice of Winchester, her mortal enemy, letters came overnight to the contrary; whereby her journey was stopped.

Thus this worthy lady, oppressed with continued sorrow, could not be permitted to have recourse to any friends she had, but still in the hands of her enemies was left desolate, and utterly destitute of all that might refresh a doleful heart, fraught full of terror and thralldom. Whereupon no marvel if she hearing upon a time, out of her garden at Woodstock, a certain milkmaid singing pleasantly, wished herself to be a milkmaid as she was, saying that her case was better and life more merry than hers, in that state as she was.

Now after these things thus declared, to proceed farther there where we left before, sir Henry Benifield and his soldiers, with the lord of Tame, and sir Ralph Chamberline, guarding and waiting upon her, the first night from Woodstock she came to Ricot. In which journey such a mighty wind did blow, that her hood was twice or thrice blown from her head. Thereupon she desiring to return to a certain gentleman's house there near, could not be suffered by sir Henry Benifield so to do, but was constrained under a hedge to trim her head as well as she could.

After this, the next day they journeyed to Mr. Dormer's, and so to Colbroke, where she lay all that night at the George, and by the way coming to Colbroke, certain of her grace's gentlemen and yeomen met her, to the number of threescore, much to all their comforts, who had not seen her grace for a long time before: notwithstanding they were commanded in the queen's name immediately to depart the town, to both theirs and her grace's no little heaviness, who could not be suffered once to speak with him. So that night all her men were taken from her, saving her gentleman-usher, three gentlewomen, two

grooms, and one of her wardrobe, the soldiers watching and warding about the house, and she close shut up within her prison.

The next day following, her grace entered Hampton-Court, and came into the prince's lodging: the doors being shut upon her, and she guarded with soldiers as before, lay there a fortnight at least, before any had recourse unto her: at length came the lord William Haward, who used her grace honourably. Whereat she took much comfort, requested him to be a means that she might speak with some of the council. To whom not long after came the bishop of Winchester, and the lord of Arundel, the lord of Shrewsbury, secretary Peter, who with great humility humbled themselves to her grace. She again likewise saluting them, said, my lords, I am glad to see you: for methinks I have been kept a great while from you desolate and alone. Wherefore I would desire you to be a means to the king and queen, that I may be delivered from prison, wherein I have been kept a long time, as to you, my lords, is well known.

When she had spoken, Stephen Gardiner, the bishop of Winchester, kneeled down, and requested that she would submit herself to the queen's grace, and in so doing he had no doubt but that her majesty would be good to her: she made answer, that rather than she would so do, she would lay in prison all the days of her life; adding, that she craved no mercy at her majesty's hand, but rather desired the law, if ever she did offend her majesty in thought, word, or deed: and besides this, in yielding (quoth she) I should speak against myself, and confess myself to be an offender, which I never was towards her majesty, by occasion whereof the king and queen might ever hereafter conceive of me an evil opinion: and therefore, I say, my lords, it were better for me to lie in prison for the truth, than to be abroad and suspected by my prince. And so they departed, promising to declare her message to the queen.

On the next day the Bishop of Winchester came again unto her grace, and kneeling down, declared that the queen marvelled that she should so stoutly use herself, not confessing that she had offended : so that it should seem that the queen's majesty had wrongfully imprisoned her grace.

Nay, quoth the lady Elizabeth, it may please her to punish me as she thinketh good.

Well, quoth Gardiner, her majesty willeth me to tell you, that you must tell another tale before that you be set at liberty.

Her grace answered, that she had as soon be in prison with honesty and truth, as to be abroad, suspected by her majesty ; and this that I have said, I will stand unto, for I will never belie myself.

Winchester again kneeled down, and said, then your grace hath the advantage of me and other lords for your wrong and long imprisonment.

What advantage I have (quoth she) you know ; taking God to record, I seek no advantage at your hands for your so dealing with me, but God forgive you and me also. With that the rest kneeled, desiring her grace that all might be forgotten, and so departed, she being fast locked up again.

A seven-night after the queen sent for her grace at ten o'clock at night to speak with her : for she had not seen her for two years before. Yet for all that, she was amazed at the suddenness of the message, thinking it had been worse than afterwards it proved, desired her gentlemen and gentlewomen to pray for her ; for that she could not tell whether ever she should see them again or no.

At which time sir Henry Benifield with Mrs. Clarendius coming in, her grace was brought into the garden, unto a stair's foot that went into the queen's lodging, her grace's gentlewomen waiting upon her, her gentleman-usher, and her grooms, going before with torches : where her gentlemen and gentlewomen being commanded to stay, all, saving one wo-

man, Mrs. Clarencius conducted her to the queen's bedchamber, where her majesty was.

At the sight of whom her grace kneeled down, and desired God to preserve her majesty, not mistrusting but that she should prove herself as true a subject towards her majesty as ever any did, and desired her majesty even so to judge of her; and said, that she should not find her to the contrary, whatsoever report otherwise had gone of her.

To whom the queen answered, you will not confess your offence, but stand stoutly to your truth: I pray God it may so fall out.

If it doth not, (quoth the lady Elizabeth,) I request neither favour nor pardon at your majesty's hands. Well, (said the queen,) you stiffly still persevere in your truth. Belike you will not confess but that you have been wrongfully punished.

I must not say so (if it please your majesty) to you.

Why then (said the queen) belike you will to others.

No, if it please your majesty, (quoth she,) I have borne the burden, and must bear it. I humbly beseech your majesty to have a good opinion of me, and to think me to be your true subject, not only from the beginning hitherto, but for ever, as long as life lasteth: and so they departed with very few comfortable words of the queen, in English: but what she said in Spanish, God knoweth. It was thought that king Philip was there behind a cloth, and not seen, and that he showed himself a very great friend in that matter, &c.

Thus her grace departing, went to her lodging again, and that day seven-night was released of sir Henry Benifield, her jailer (as she termed him) and his soldiers, and so her grace being set at liberty from imprisonment, went into the country, and had appointed to go with her sir Thomas Pope, one of queen Mary's counsellors, and one of her gentlemen-ushers, Mr. Gage, and thus strictly was she looked after all queen Mary's time. And this is the discourse of her highness's imprisonment.

Then there came to Lamhevre, Mr. Jerningham and Mr. Norris, gentlemen-ushers, queen Mary's men, who took away from her grace Mrs. Ashly to the Fleet, and three other of her gentlewomen to the Tower; which thing was no little trouble to her grace, saying that she thought they would fetch all away at the end. But, God be praised, shortly after was fetched away Gardiner, through the merciful providence of the Lord's goodness, by occasion of whose opportune decease (as is partly touched in this story before) the life of this excellent princess, and the wealth of England, were preserved. For this is credibly to be supposed, that the said wicked Gardiner of Winchester had long laboured his wits, and to this only most principal mark bent all his devices, to take this our happy and dear sovereign out of the way; as both by his words and doings before notified, may sufficiently appear.

But such was the gracious and favourable providence of the Lord, to the preservation not only of her royal majesty, but also of the miserable and woful state of this whole island, and poor subjects of the same, whereby the proud platform and peevish practices of this wicked Ahithopel prevailed not; but contrariwise, both he and all the snares and traps of his pernicious council laid against another, were turned to a net to catch himself, according to the proverb, "The mischief he designed for another, fell upon his own head."

After the death of this Gardiner, followed the death also and drooping away of other her enemies, whereby little and little her jeopardy decreased, fear diminished, hope of comfort began to appear as out of a dark cloud: and albeit as yet her grace had no full assurance of perfect safety, yet more gentle entertainment daily did grow unto her, till at length, in the month of November, and seventeenth day of the same, three years after the death of Stephen Gardiner, followed the death of queen Mary.

BOOK XII.

A general account of the attempts made by the Papists to overturn the Protestant government of England, from the accession of Queen Elizabeth, to the reign of George II.

SECTION I.

HORRID CONSPIRACY BY THE PAPISTS FOR THE DESTRUCTION OF JAMES I., THE ROYAL FAMILY, AND BOTH HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT ; COMMONLY KNOWN BY THE NAME OF THE GUNPOWDER PLOT.

The papists (of which there were great numbers in England at the time of the intended Spanish invasion) were so irritated at the failure of that expedition, that they were determined, if possible, to project a scheme at home, that might answer the purposes, in some degree, of the blood-thirsty competitors. The vigorous administration of Elizabeth, however, prevented their carrying any of their iniquitous designs into execution, although they made many attempts with that view. The commencement of the reign of her successor was destined to be the era of a plot, the barbarity of which transcends every thing related in ancient and modern history.

In order to crush popery in the most effectual manner in this kingdom, James, soon after his accession, took proper measures for eclipsing the power of the Roman Catholics, by enforcing those laws which had been made against them by his predecessors. This enraged the papists to such a degree, that a conspiracy was formed by some of the principal leaders of the most daring and impious nature ; namely, to blow up the king, royal family, and both houses of parliament, while in full session, and thus to involve the nation in utter and inevitable ruin.

The cabal who formed the resolution of putting in practice this horrid scheme, consisted of the following persons ; Henry Garnet, an Englishman, who,

about the year 1586, had been sent to England as superior of the English Jesuits ; Catesby, an English gentleman ; Tesmond, a Jesuit ; Thomas Wright ; two gentlemen of the name of Winter ; Thomas Percy, a near relation of the earl of Northumberland ; Guido Fawkes, a bold and enterprising soldier of fortune ; Sir Edward Digby ; John Grant, Esq. ; Francis Tresham, Esq. ; Robert Keyes and Thomas Bates, gentlemen.

Most of these were men both of birth and fortune ; and Catesby, who had a large estate, had already expended two thousand pounds in several voyages to the court of Spain, in order to introduce an army of Spaniards into England, for overturning the protestant government, and restoring the Roman Catholic religion ; but, being disappointed in this project of an invasion, he took an opportunity of disclosing to Percy, (who was his intimate friend, and who, in a sudden fit of passion, had hinted a design of assassinating the king,) a nobler and more extensive plan of treason, such as would include a sure execution of vengeance, and, at one blow, consign over to destruction all their enemies.

Percy assented to the project proposed by Catesby, and they resolved to impart the matter to a few more, and, by degrees, to all the rest of their cabal, every man being bound by an oath, and taking the sacrament (the most sacred rite of their religion) not to disclose the least syllable of the matter, or to withdraw from the association, without the consent of all persons concerned.

These consultations were held in the spring and summer of the year 1604, and it was towards the close of that year that they began their operations ; the manner of which, and the discovery, we shall relate with as much brevity as is consistent with perspicuity.

It had been agreed that a few of the conspirators should run a mine below the hall in which the par-

liament was to assemble, and that they should choose the very moment when the king should deliver his speech to both houses, for springing the mine, and thus, by one blow, cut off the king, the royal family, lords, commons, and all other enemies of the Catholic religion, in that very spot where that religion had been most oppressed. For this purpose Percy, who was at that time a gentleman-pensioner, undertook to hire a house adjoining to the upper house of parliament, with all diligence. This was accordingly done, and the conspirators, expecting the parliament would meet on the 17th of February following, began, on the 11th of December, to dig in the cellar, through the wall of partition, which was three yards thick. There were seven in number joined in this labour : they went in by night, and never after appeared in sight, for, having supplied themselves with all necessary provisions, they had no occasion to go out. In case of discovery, they had provided themselves with powder, shot, and fire-arms, and had formed a resolution rather to die than be taken.

On Candlemas-day, 1605, they had dug so far through the wall as to be able to hear a noise on the other side ; upon which unexpected event, fearing a discovery, Guido Fawkes (who personated Percy's footman) was despatched to know the occasion, and returned with the favourable report, that the place from whence the noise came was a large cellar, under the upper house of parliament, full of sea-coal, which was then on sale, and the cellar offered to be let.

On this information, Percy immediately hired the cellar, and bought the remainder of the coals : he then sent for thirty barrels of gunpowder from Holland, and landing them at Lambeth, conveyed them gradually by night to this cellar, where they were covered with stones, iron bars, a thousand billets, and five hundred fagots ; all of which they did at their leisure, the parliament being prorogued to the 5th of November.

This being done, the conspirators next consulted how they should secure the Duke of York,* who was too young to be expected at the parliament-house, and his sister the princess Elizabeth, educated at lord Harrington's in Warwickshire. It was resolved, that Percy and another should enter into the duke's chamber, and a dozen more, properly disposed at several doors, with two or three on horseback at the court-gate to receive him, should carry him safe away as soon as the parliament-house was blown up; or, if that could not be effected, that they should kill him, and declare the princess Elizabeth queen, having secured her, under pretence of a hunting-match, that day.

Several of the conspirators proposed obtaining foreign aid previous to the execution of their design; but this was overruled, and it was agreed only to apply to France, Spain, and other powers for assistance after the plot had taken effect: they also resolved to proclaim the princess Elizabeth queen, and to spread a report, after the blow was given, that the puritans were the perpetrators of so inhuman an action.

All matters being now prepared by the conspirators, they, without the least remorse of conscience, and with the utmost impatience, expected the 5th of November. But all their counsels were blasted by a happy and providential circumstance. One of the conspirators, having a desire to save William Parker, lord Monteagle, sent him the following letter:

"MY LORD,

"Out of the love I bear to some of your friends, I have a care for your preservation; therefore I advise you, as you tender your life, to devise you some excuse to shift off your attendance at this parliament; for God and man have concurred to punish the wickedness of this time: and think not slightly of this advertisement, but retire yourself into the country,

* Afterward Charles I.

where you may expect the event with safety ; for though there be no appearance of any stir, yet I say they shall receive a terrible blow, this parliament, and yet they shall not see who hurts them. This counsel is not to be contemned, because it may do you good, and can do you no harm ; for the danger is past so soon (or as quickly) as you burn this letter ; and I hope God will give you the grace to make good use of it, to whose holy protection I commend you."

The lord Monteagle was for some time at a loss what judgment to form of this letter, and unresolved whether he should slight the advertisement or not ; and fancying it a trick of his enemies to frighten him into an absence from parliament, would have determined on the former, had his own safety been only in question : but apprehending the king's life might be in danger, he took the letter at midnight to the earl of Salisbury, who was equally puzzled about the meaning of it ; and though he was inclined to think it merely a wild and waggish contrivance to alarm Monteagle, yet he thought proper to consult about it with the earl of Suffolk, lord chamberlain. The expression, " that the blow should come without knowing who hurt them," made them imagine that it would not be more proper than the time of parliament, nor by any other way like to be attempted than by gunpowder, while the king was sitting in that assembly : the lord chamberlain thought this the more probable, because there was a great cellar under the parliament chamber, (as already mentioned,) never used for any thing but wood or coal, belonging to Wineyard, the keeper of the palace ; and having communicated the letter to the earls of Nottingham, Worcester, and Northampton, they proceeded no farther till the king came from Royston, on the 1st of November.

His majesty being shown the letter by the earls, who at the same time acquainted him with their sus-

picious, was of opinion that either nothing should be done, or else enough to prevent the danger ; and that a search should be made on the day preceding that designed for the execution of the diabolical enterprise.

Accordingly, on Monday, the 4th of November, in the afternoon, the lord chamberlain, whose office it was to see all things put in readiness for the king's coming, accompanied by Monteagle, went to visit all places about the parliament-house, and taking a slight occasion to see the cellar, observed only piles of billets and fagots, but in greater number than he thought Wineyard could want for his own use. On his asking who owned the wood, and being told it belonged to one Mr. Percy, he began to have some suspicions, knowing him to be a rigid papist, and so seldom there that he had no occasion for such a quantity of fuel ; and Monteagle confirmed him therein, by observing that Percy had made him great professions of friendship.

Though there were no other materials visible, yet Suffolk thought it was necessary to make a further search ; and, upon his return to the king, a resolution was taken that it should be made in such a manner as should be effectual, without scandalizing any body, or giving any alarm.

Sir Thomas Knevet, steward of Westminster, was accordingly ordered, under the pretext of searching for stolen tapestry hangings in that place, and other houses thereabouts, to remove the wood, and see if any thing was concealed underneath. This gentleman going at midnight, with several attendants, to the cellar, met Fawkes, just coming out of it, booted and spurred, with a tinder-box and three matches in his pockets ; and seizing him without any ceremony, or asking him any questions, as soon as the removal of the wood discovered the barrels of gunpowder, he caused him to be bound, and properly secured.

Fawkes, who was a hardened and intrepid villain, made no hesitation of avowing the design, and that it was to have been executed on the morrow. He made the same acknowledgment at his examination before a committee of the council ; and though he did not deny having some associates in this conspiracy, yet no threats of torture could make him discover any of them, he declaring that " he was ready to die, and had rather suffer ten thousand deaths, than willingly accuse his master, or any other."

By repeated examinations, however, and assurances of his master's being apprehended, he at length acknowledged, " that whilst he was abroad, Percy had kept the keys of the cellar, had been in it since the powder had been laid there, and, in effect, that he was one of the principal actors in the intended tragedy."

In the mean time it was found out, that Percy had come post out of the north on Saturday night, the 2d of November, and had dined on Monday at Sion-House, with the earl of Northumberland ; that Fawkes had met him on the road ; and that, after the lord chamberlain had been that evening in the cellar, he went, about six o'clock, to his master, who had fled immediately, apprehending the plot was detected.

The news of the discovery immediately spreading, the conspirators fled different ways, but chiefly into Warwickshire, where Sir Everard Digby had appointed a hunting match, near Dunchurch, to get a number of recusants together, sufficient to seize the princess Elizabeth ; but this design was prevented by her taking refuge in Coventry ; and their whole party, making about one hundred, retired to Holbeach, the seat of Sir Stephen Littleton, on the borders of Staffordshire, having broken open stables, and taken horses from different people in the adjoining counties.

Sir Richard Walsh, high-sheriff of Worcestershire, pursued them to Holbeach, where he invested them,

and summoned them to surrender. In preparing for their defence, they put some moist powder before a fire to dry, and a spark from the coals setting it on fire, some of the conspirators were so burned in their faces, thighs, and arms, that they were scarcely able to handle their weapons. Their case was desperate, and no means of escape appearing, unless by forcing their way through the assailants, they made a furious sally for that purpose. Catesby (who first proposed the manner of the plot) and Percy were both killed. Thomas Winter, Grant, Digby, Rookwood, and Bates, were taken and carried to London, where the first made a full discovery of the conspiracy. Treshham, lurking about the city, and frequently shifting his quarters, was apprehended soon after, and, having confessed the whole matter, died of the strangury in the Tower. The earl of Northumberland, suspected on account of his being related to Thomas Percy, was, by way of precaution, committed to the custody of the archbishop of Canterbury, at Lambeth, and was afterwards fined thirty thousand pounds, and sent to the Tower, for admitting Percy into the band of gentlemen pensioners, without tendering him the oath of supremacy.

Some escaped to Calais, and arriving there with others who fled to avoid a persecution, which they apprehended on this occasion, were kindly received by the governor; but one of them declaring before him, that he was not so much concerned at his exile as that the powder-plot did not take effect; the governor was so much incensed at his glorying in such an execrable piece of iniquity, that, in a sudden impulse of indignation, he endeavoured to throw him into the sea.

On the 27th of January, 1606, eight of the conspirators were tried and convicted; among whom was Sir Everard Digby, the only one that had pleaded guilty to the indictment, though all the rest had confessed their guilt before. Digby was executed on

the 30th of the same month, with Robert Winter, Grant, and Bates, at the west end of St. Paul's church-yard; Thomas Winter, Keyes, Rookwood, and Fawkes, were executed the following day in Old Palace yard.

Garnet was tried on the 28th of March, "for his knowledge and concealment of the conspiracy; for administering an oath of secrecy to the conspirators; for persuading them of the lawfulness of the treason, and for praying for the success of the great action in hand at the beginning of parliament." Being found guilty,* he received sentence of death, but was not executed till the 3d of May, when, confessing his own guilt, and the iniquity of the enterprise, he exhorted all Roman Catholics to abstain from the like treasonable practices in future. Gerard and Hull, two Jesuits, got abroad; and Littleton, with several others, were executed in the country.

The lord Monteagle had a grant of two hundred pounds a year in land, and a pension of five hundred pounds for life, as a reward for discovering the letter which gave the first hint of the conspiracy; and the anniversary of this providential deliverance was ordered to be for ever commemorated by prayer and thanksgiving.

Thus was this diabolical scheme happily rendered abortive, and the authors of it brought to that condign punishment which their wickedness merited. In this affair Providence manifestly interposed in behalf of the protestants, and saved them from that destruction which must have taken place, had the scheme succeeded according to the wishes of a bigoted, superstitious, and blood-thirsty faction.

* Although Garnet was convicted of this horrible crime, yet the bigoted Papists were so besotted as to look upon him as an object of devotion; they fancied that miracles were wrought by his blood, and regarded him as a martyr! Such is the deadening and perverting influence of Popery!

SECTION II.

RISE AND PROGRESS OF THE PROTESTANT RELIGION
IN IRELAND* WITH AN ACCOUNT OF THE BARBAROUS
MASSACRE OF 1641.

The gloom of popery had overshadowed Ireland, from its first establishment there till the reign of Henry VIII., when the rays of the gospel began to dispel the darkness, and afford that light which had till then been unknown in that island. The abject ignorance in which the people were held, with the absurd and superstitious notions they entertained, were sufficiently evident to many; and the artifices of their priests were so conspicuous, that several persons of distinction, who had hitherto been strenuous papists, would willingly have endeavoured to shake off the yoke, and embrace the protestant religion; but the natural ferocity of the people, and their strong attachment to the ridiculous doctrines which they had been taught, made the attempt dangerous. It was, however, at length undertaken, though attended with the most horrid and disastrous consequences.

The introduction of the protestant religion into Ireland, may be principally attributed to George Browne, an Englishman, who was consecrated archbishop of Dublin, on the 19th of March, 1535. He had formerly been an Augustine friar, and was promoted to the mitre on account of his merit.

After having enjoyed his dignity about five years, he, at the time that Henry VIII. was suppressing the religious houses in England, caused all the relics and images to be removed out of the two cathedrals in Dublin, and the other churches in his diocese; in the place of which he caused to be put up the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and the Ten Commandments.

A short time after this he received a letter from Thomas Cromwell, lord privy-seal, informing him that Henry VIII. having thrown off the papal supre-

macy in England, was determined to do the like in Ireland ; and that he thereupon had appointed him (archbishop Browne) one of the commissioners for seeing this order put in execution. The archbishop answered that he had employed his utmost endeavours, at the hazard of his life, to cause the Irish nobility and gentry to acknowledge Henry as their supreme head, in matters both spiritual and temporal ; but had met with a most violent opposition, especially from George, archbishop of Armagh : that this prelate had, in a speech to his clergy, laid a curse on all those who should own his highness's* supremacy ; adding, that their isle, called in the Chronicles *Insula Sacra*, or the Holy Island, belonged to none but the bishop of Rome ; and that the king's progenitors had received it from the pope. He observed likewise, that the archbishop, and the clergy of Armagh, had each despatched a courier to Rome ; and that it would be necessary for a parliament to be called in Ireland, to pass an act of supremacy, the people not regarding the king's commission without the sanction of the legislative assembly. He concluded with observing, that the popes had kept the people in the most profound ignorance ; that the clergy were exceedingly illiterate ; that the common people were more zealous in their blindness, than the saints and martyrs had been in the defence of truth at the beginning of the gospel ; and that it was to be feared Shan O'Neal, a chieftain of great power in the northern part of the island, was decidedly opposed to the king's commission.

In pursuance of this advice, the following year a parliament was summoned to meet at Dublin, by order of Leonard Grey, at that time lord-lieutenant. At this assembly archbishop Browne made a speech, in which he set forth, that the bishops of Rome used, anciently, to acknowledge emperors, kings, and

* The king of England was at that time called *highness*, not *majesty*, as at present.

princes, to be supreme in their own dominions ; and, therefore, that he himself would vote king Henry VIII. as supreme in all matters, both ecclesiastical and temporal. He concluded with saying, that whosoever should refuse to vote for this act, was not a true subject of the king. This speech greatly startled the other bishops and lords ; but at length, after violent debates, the king's supremacy was allowed.

Two years after this, the archbishop wrote a second letter to Cromwell, complaining of the clergy, and hinting at the machinations which the pope was then carrying on against the advocates of the gospel. This letter is dated from Dublin, in April, 1538 ; and among other matters, the archbishop says, " A bird may be taught to speak with as much sense as many of the clergy do in this country. These, though not scholars, yet are crafty to cozen the poor common people, and to dissuade them from following his highness's orders. The country folks here much hate your lordship, and despitefully call you, in their Irish tongue, the Blacksmith's Son. As a friend, I desire your lordship to look to your noble person. Rome hath a great kindness for the duke of Norfolk, and great favours for this nation, purposely to oppose his highness."

A short time after this, the pope sent over to Ireland (directed to the archbishop of Armagh and his clergy) a bull of ex-communication against all who had, or should own the king's supremacy within the Irish nation ; denouncing a curse on all of them and theirs, who should not, within forty days, acknowledge to their confessors that they had done amiss in so doing.

Archbishop Browne gave notice of this in a letter, dated Dublin, May, 1538. Part of the form of confession, or vow, sent over to these Irish papists, ran as follows : " I do further declare, him or her, father or mother, brother or sister, son or daughter, husband or wife, uncle or aunt, nephew or niece, kinsman or

kinswoman, master or mistress, and all others, nearest or dearest relations, friends or acquaintance whatsoever, accursed, that either do or shall hold, for the time to come, any ecclesiastical or civil power above the authority of the mother-church ; or that do or shall obey, for the time to come, any of her the mother of churches' opposers or enemies, or contrary to the same, of which I have here sworn unto : so God, the Blessed Virgin, St. Peter, St. Paul, and the Holy Evangelists, help me, &c." This is an exact agreement with the doctrines promulgated by the councils of Lateran and Constance, which expressly declare, that no favour should be shown to heretics, nor faith kept with them ; that they ought to be excommunicated and condemned, and their estates confiscated ; and that princes are obliged, by a solemn oath, to root them out of their respective dominions.

How abominable a church must that be, which thus dares to trample upon all authority ! how besotted the people who regard the injunctions of such a church !

In the archbishop's last mentioned letter, dated May, 1538, he says, " His highness's viceroy of this nation is of little or no power, with the old natives. Now both English and Irish begin to oppose your lordship's orders, and to lay aside their national quarrels, which I fear will (if any thing will) cause a foreigner to invade this nation."

Not long after this, archbishop Browne seized one Thady O'Brian, a Franciscan friar, who had in his possession a paper sent from Rome, dated May, 1538, and directed to O'Neal. In this letter were the following words : " His holiness Paul, now pope, and the council of the fathers, have lately found, in Rome, a prophecy of one St. Lacerianus, an Irish bishop of Cashel, in which he saith, that the mother-church of Rome falleth, when, in Ireland, the Catholic faith is overcome. Therefore, for the glory of the mother-

church, the honour of St. Peter, and your own security, suppress heresy, and his holiness's enemies."

This Thady O'Brian, after farther examination and search made, was pilloried, and kept close prisoner, till the king's orders arrived in what manner he should be farther disposed of. But order coming over from England that he was to be hanged, he laid violent hands on himself in the castle of Dublin. His body was afterwards carried to Gallows-green, where, after being hanged up for some time, it was interred.

After the accession of Edward VI. to the throne of England, an order was directed to sir Anthony Leger, the lord-deputy of Ireland, commanding that the liturgy in English be forthwith set up in Ireland, there to be observed within the several bishoprics, cathedrals, and parish churches; and it was first read in Christ-church, Dublin, on Easter-day, 1551, before the said sir Anthony, archbishop Browne, and others. Part of the royal order for this purpose was as follows: "Whereas our gracious father, king Henry VIII., taking into consideration the bondage and heavy yoke that his true and faithful subjects sustained, under the jurisdiction of the bishop of Rome; how several fabulous stories and lying wonders misled our subjects; dispensing with the sins of our nation, by their indulgences and pardons, for gain; purposely to cherish all evil vices, as robberies, rebellions, theft, whoredom, blasphemy, idolatry, &c. our gracious father hereupon dissolved all priories, monasteries, abbeys, and other pretended religious houses; as being but nurseries for vice or luxury, more than for sacred learning, &c."

On the day after the common-prayer was first used in Christ-church, Dublin, the following wicked scheme was projected by the papists:

In the church was left a marble image of Christ, holding a reed in his hand, with a crown of thorns on his head. Whilst the English service (the Com-

mon Prayer) was being read before the lord-lieutenant, the archbishop of Dublin, the privy-council, the lord-mayor, and a great congregation, blood was seen to run through the crevices of the crown of thorns, and to trickle down the face of the image. On this, some of the contrivers of the imposture cried aloud : " See how our Saviour's image sweats blood ! But it must necessarily do this, since heresy is come into the church." Immediately many of the lower order of people, indeed the *vulgar of all ranks*, were terrified at the sight of so *miraculous* and *undeniable* an evidence of the Divine displeasure ; they hastened from the church, convinced that the doctrines of protestantism emanated from an infernal source, and that salvation was only to be found in the bosom of their own *infallible* church.

This incident, however ludicrous it may appear to the enlightened reader, had great influence over the minds of the ignorant Irish, and answered the ends of the impudent impostors who contrived it, so far as to check the progress of the reformed religion in Ireland very materially ; many persons could not resist the conviction that there were many errors and corruptions in the Romish church, but they were awed into silence by this pretended manifestation of Divine wrath, which was magnified beyond measure by the bigoted and interested priesthood.

We have very few particulars as to the state of religion in Ireland during the remaining portion of the reign of Edward VI., and the greater part of that of Mary. Towards the conclusion of the barbarous sway of that relentless bigot, she attempted to extend her inhuman persecutions to this island ; but her diabolical intentions were happily frustrated in the following providential manner, the particulars of which are related by historians of good authority.

Mary had appointed Dr. Cole, (an agent of the blood-thirsty Bonner,) one of the commissioners for carrying her barbarous intentions into effect. He

having arrived at Chester with his commission, the mayor of that city, being a papist, waited upon him ; when the doctor taking out of his cloak-bag a leathern case, said to him, "Here is a commission that shall lash the heretics of Ireland." The good woman of the house being a protestant, and having a brother in Dublin, named John Edmunds, was greatly troubled at what she heard. But watching her opportunity, whilst the mayor was taking his leave, and the doctor politely accompanying him down stairs, she opened the box, took out the commission, and in its stead laid a sheet of paper, with a pack of cards, and the *knave of clubs* at top. The doctor, not suspecting the trick that had been played him, put up the box, and arrived with it in Dublin, in September, 1558.

Anxious to accomplish the intentions of his "*pious*" mistress, he immediately waited upon lord Fitz-Walter, at that time viceroy, and presented the box to him ; which being opened, nothing was found in it but a pack of cards. This startling all the persons present, his lordship said, "We must procure another commission ; and in the mean time let us shuffle the cards !"

Dr. Cole, however, would have directly returned to England to get another commission ; but waiting for a favourable wind, news arrived that queen Mary was dead, and by this means the protestants escaped a most cruel persecution. The above relation, as we before observed, is confirmed by historians of the greatest credit, who add, that queen Elizabeth settled a pension of forty pounds per annum upon the above mentioned Elizabeth Edmunds, for having thus saved the lives of her protestant subjects.

During the reigns of Elizabeth and of James I. Ireland was almost constantly agitated by rebellions and insurrections, which, although not always taking their rise from the difference of religious opinions between the English and Irish, were aggravated and

rendered more bitter and irreconcilable from that cause. The popish priests artfully exaggerated the faults of the English government, and continually urged to their ignorant and prejudiced hearers the lawfulness of killing the protestants, assuring them that all Catholics who were slain in the prosecution of so *pious* an enterprise, would be immediately received into everlasting felicity. The naturally ungovernable dispositions of the Irish, acted upon by these designing men, drove them into continual acts of barbarous and unjustifiable violence ; and it must be confessed that the unsettled and arbitrary nature of the authority exercised by the English governors, was but little calculated to gain their affections. The Spaniards, too, by landing forces in the south, and giving every encouragement to the discontented natives to join their standard, kept the island in a continual state of turbulence and warfare. In 1601 they disembarked a body of 4000 men at Kinsale, and commenced what they called "*the holy war, for the preservation of the faith in Ireland ;*" they were assisted by great numbers of the Irish, but were at length totally defeated by the deputy, lord Mountjoy, and his officers.

This closed the transactions of Elizabeth's reign with respect to Ireland ; an interval of apparent tranquillity followed, but the popish priesthood, ever restless and designing, sought to undermine by secret machinations, that government and that faith which they durst no longer openly attack. The pacific reign of James afforded them the opportunity of increasing their strength and maturing their schemes ; and under his successor, Charles I., their numbers were greatly increased by titular Romish archbishops, bishops, deans, vicars-general, abbots, priests, and friars ; for which reason, in 1629, the public exercise of the popish rites and ceremonies was forbidden.

But notwithstanding this, soon afterwards the Ro-

mish clergy erected a new popish university in the city of Dublin. They also proceeded to build monasteries and nunneries in various parts of the kingdom ; in which places these very Romish clergy, and the chiefs of the Irish, held frequent meetings ; and, from thence, used to pass to and fro, to France, Spain, Flanders, Lorraine, and Rome ; where the detestable plot of 1641 was hatching by the family of the O'Neals and their followers.

A short time before the horrid conspiracy broke out, which we are now going to relate, the papists in Ireland had presented a remonstrance to the lords-justices of that kingdom, demanding the free exercise of their religion, and a repeal of all laws to the contrary ; to which both houses of parliament in England solemnly answered, that they would never grant any toleration to the popish religion in that kingdom.

This farther irritated the papists to put in execution the diabolical plot concerted for the destruction of the protestants ; and it failed not of the success wished for by its malicious and rancorous projectors.

The design of this horrid conspiracy was, that a general insurrection should take place at the same time throughout the kingdom ; and that all the protestants, without exception, should be murdered. The day fixed for this horrid massacre, was the 23d of October, 1641, the feast of Ignatius Loyola, founder of the Jesuits ; and the chief conspirators, in the principal parts of the kingdom, made the necessary preparations for the intended conflict.

In order that this detested scheme might the more infallibly succeed, the most distinguished artifices were practised by the papists ; and their behaviour, in their visits to the protestants, at this time, was with more seeming kindness than they had hitherto shown, which was done the more completely to effect the inhuman and treacherous designs then meditating against them.

The execution of this savage conspiracy was delayed till the approach of winter, that sending troops from England might be attended with greater difficulty. Cardinal Richlieu, the French minister, had promised the conspirators a considerable supply of men and money; and many Irish officers had given the strongest assurances that they would heartily concur with their Catholic brethren, as soon as the insurrection took place.

The day preceding that appointed for carrying this horrid design into execution was now arrived, when, happily for the metropolis of the kingdom, the conspiracy was discovered by one Owen O'Connelly, an Irishman, for which most signal service the English parliament voted him 500*l.*, and a pension of 200*l.* during his life.

So very seasonably was this plot discovered, even but a few hours before the city and castle of Dublin were to have been surprised, that the lords-justices had but just time to put themselves and the city in a proper posture of defence. The lord M'Guire, who was the principal leader here, with his accomplices, were seized the same evening in the city; and in their lodgings were found swords, hatchets, pole-axes, hammers, and such other instruments of death as had been prepared for the destruction and extirpation of the protestants in that part of the kingdom.

Thus was the metropolis happily preserved; but the bloody part of the intended tragedy was past prevention. The conspirators were in arms all over the kingdom early in the morning of the day appointed, and every protestant who fell in their way was immediately murdered. No age, no sex, no condition, was spared. The wife, weeping for her butchered husband, and embracing her helpless children, was pierced with them, and perished by the same stroke. The old, the young, the vigorous, and the infirm, underwent the same fate, and were blended in one common ruin. In vain did flight save from the first as-

sault: destruction was every where let loose, and met the hunted victims at every turn. In vain was recourse had to relations, to companions, to friends: all connexions were dissolved, and death was dealt by that hand, from which protection was implored and expected. Without provocation, without opposition, the astonished English, living in profound peace, and, as they thought, full security, were massacred by their nearest neighbours, with whom they had long maintained a continued intercourse of kindness and good offices. Nay, even death was the slightest punishment inflicted by these monsters in human form; all the tortures which wanton cruelty could invent, all the lingering pains of body, the anguish of mind, the agonies of despair, could not satiate revenge excited without injury, and cruelty derived from no just cause whatever. Depraved nature, even perverted religion, though encouraged by the utmost license, cannot reach to a greater pitch of ferocity than appeared in these merciless barbarians. Even the weaker sex themselves, naturally tender to their own sufferings, and compassionate to those of others, here emulated their robust companions in the practice of every cruelty. The very children, taught by example, and encouraged by the exhortations of their parents, dealt their feeble blows on the dead carcasses of defenceless children of the English.

Nor was the avarice of the Irish sufficient to produce the least restraint on their cruelty. Such was their frenzy, that the cattle they had seized, and by rapine had made their own, were, because they bore the name of English, wantonly slaughtered, or, when covered with wounds, turned loose into the woods, there to perish by slow and lingering torments.

The commodious habitations of the planters were laid in ashes, or levelled with the ground. And where the wretched owners had shut themselves up in the houses and were preparing for defence, they per-

ished in the flames, together with their wives and children.

Such is the general description of this unparalleled massacre ; but it now remains, from the nature of our work, that we proceed to particulars.

The bigoted and merciless papists had no sooner begun to imbrue their hands in blood, than they repeated the horrid tragedy day after day ; and the protestants in all parts of the kingdom fell victims to their fury by deaths of the most unheard-of cruelty.

The ignorant Irish were more strongly instigated to execute the infernal business by the Jesuits, priests, and friars, who, when the day for the execution of the plot was agreed on, recommended in their prayers, diligence in the great design, which they said would greatly tend to the prosperity of the kingdom, and to the advancement of the Catholic cause. They every where declared to the common people, that the protestants were heretics, and ought not to be suffered to live any longer among them ; adding, that it was no more sin to kill an Englishman than to kill a dog ; and that the relieving or protecting them was a crime of the most unpardonable nature.

The papists having besieged the town and castle of Longford, and the inhabitants of the former, who were protestants, surrendering on condition of being allowed quarter, the besiegers, the instant the townspeople appeared, attacked them in the most unmerciful manner, their priest, as a signal for the rest to fall on, first ripping open the belly of the English protestant minister ; after which his followers murdered all the rest, some of whom they hung, others were stabbed or shot, and great numbers knocked on the head with axes provided for the purpose.

The garrison of Sligo was treated in like manner by O'Connor Slygah ; who, upon the protestants quitting their holds, promised them quarter, and to convey them safe over the Curlew mountains, to Roscommon. But he first imprisoned them in a most

loathsome jail, allowing them only grains for their food. Afterwards, when some papists were merry over their cups, who were come to congratulate their wicked brethren for their victory over these unhappy creatures, those protestants who survived were brought forth by the white friars, and were either killed, or precipitated over the bridge into a swift water, where they were soon destroyed. It is added, that this wicked company of white friars went some time after in solemn procession, with holy water in their hands, to sprinkle the river, on pretence of cleansing and purifying it from the stains and pollution of the blood and dead bodies of the heretics, as they called the unfortunate protestants who were inhumanly slaughtered at this time.

At Kilmore, Dr. Bedel, bishop of that see, had charitably settled and supported a great number of distressed protestants, who had fled from their habitations to escape the diabolical cruelties committed by the papists. But they did not long enjoy the consolation of living together; the good prelate was forcibly dragged from his episcopal residence, which was immediately occupied by Dr. Swiney, the popish titular bishop of Kilmore, who said mass in the church the Sunday following, and then seized all the goods and effects belonging to the persecuted bishop.

Soon after this, the papists forced Dr. Bedel, his two sons, and the rest of his family, with some of the chief of the protestants whom he had protected, into a ruinous castle, called Lochwater, situated in a lake near the sea. Here he remained with his companions some weeks, all of them daily expecting to be put to death. The greater part of them were stripped naked, by which means, as the season was cold, (it being in the month of December,) and the building in which they were confined open at the top, they suffered the most severe hardships.

They continued in this situation till the 7th of January, when they were all released. The bishop

was courteously received into the house of Dennis O'Sheridan, one of his clergy, whom he had made a convert to the church of England; but he did not long survive this kindness.

During his residence here, he spent the whole of his time in religious exercises, the better to fit and prepare himself, and his sorrowful companions, for their great change, as nothing but certain death was perpetually before their eyes.

He was at this time in the 71st year of his age, and being afflicted with a violent ague caught in his late cold and desolate habitation on the lake, it soon threw him into a fever of the most dangerous nature. Finding his dissolution at hand, he received it with joy, like one of the primitive martyrs just hastening to his crown of glory. After having addressed his little flock, and exhorted them to patience, in the most pathetic manner, as they saw their own last day approaching; after having solemnly blessed his people, his family, and his children, he finished the course of his ministry and life together, on the 7th of February, 1642.

His friends and relations applied to the intruding bishop, for leave to bury him, which was with great difficulty obtained; he at first telling them, that the church-yard was holy ground, and should be no longer defiled with heretics: however, leave was at last granted, and though the church funeral service was not used at the solemnity, (for fear of the papists,) yet some of the better sort, who had the highest veneration for him when living, attended his remains to the grave. At his interment they discharged a volley of shot, crying out, *Requiescat in pace ultimus Anglorum*: that is, "May the last of the English rest in peace." Adding, that as he was one of the best, so he should be the last English bishop found among them.

His learning was very extensive; and he would have given the world a greater proof of it, had he

printed all he wrote. Scarce any of his writings were saved; the papists having destroyed most of his papers and his library.

He had gathered a vast heap of critical expositions of Scripture, all which, with a great trunk full of his manuscripts, fell into the hands of the Irish. Happily his great Hebrew MS. was preserved, and is now in the library of Emanuel college, Oxford.

In the barony of Terawley, the papists, at the instigation of their friars, compelled above 40 English protestants, some of whom were women and children, to the hard fate either of falling by the sword, or of drowning in the sea. These choosing the latter, were accordingly forced, by the naked weapons of their inexorable persecutors, into the deep, where, with their children in their arms, they first waded up to their chins, and afterwards sunk down and perished together.

In the castle of Lisgool, upwards of 150 men, women, and children, were all burnt together; and at the castle of Moneah, not less than 106 were put to the sword. Great numbers were also murdered at the castle of Tullah, which was delivered up to M^r. Guire, on condition of having fair quarter; but no sooner had that base villain got possession of the place, than he ordered his followers to murder the people, which was immediately done with the greatest cruelty.

Many others were put to deaths of the most horrid nature, and such as could have been invented only by demons instead of men.

Some of them were laid with the centre of their backs on the axletree of a carriage, with their legs resting on the ground on one side, and their arms and head on the other. In this position one of the savages scourged the wretched object on the thighs, legs, &c., while another set on furious dogs, who tore to pieces the arms and upper parts of the body; and in this dreadful manner were they deprived of their existence.

Great numbers were fastened to horses' tails, and the beasts being set on full gallop by their riders, the wretched victims were dragged along till they expired.

Others were hung on lofty gibbets, and a fire being kindled under them, they finished their lives, partly by hanging, and partly by suffocation.

Nor did the more tender sex escape the least particle of cruelty that could be projected by their merciless and furious persecutors. Many women, of all ages, were put to deaths of the most cruel nature. Some, in particular, were fastened with their backs to strong posts, and being stripped to the waist, the inhuman monsters cut off their right breasts with shears, which, of course, put them to the most excruciating torments; and in this position they were left till from the loss of blood they expired.

Such was the savage ferocity of these barbarians, that even unborn infants were dragged from the womb to become victims to their rage. Many unhappy mothers were hung naked on the branches of trees, and their bodies being cut open, the innocent offspring was taken from them, and thrown to dogs and swine. And to increase the horrid scene, they would oblige the husband to be a spectator before he suffered himself.

At the town of Lissenskeath, they hanged above 100 Scottish protestants, showing them no more mercy than they did to the English.

M'Guire, going to the castle of that town, desired to speak with the governor, when being admitted, he immediately burnt the records of the county, which were kept there. He then demanded 1000*l.* of the governor, which having received, he immediately compelled him to hear mass, and to swear that he would continue so to do. And to complete his horrid barbarities, he ordered the wife and children of the governor to be hung up before his face; besides massacring at least 100 of the inhabitants.

Upwards of 1000 men, women, and children, were

driven, in different companies, to Portendown bridge, which was broken in the middle, and there compelled to throw themselves into the water; and such as attempted to reach the shore were knocked on the head.

In the same part of the country, at least 4000 persons were drowned in different places. The inhuman papists, after first stripping them, drove them like beasts to the spot fixed for their destruction; and if any, through fatigue, or natural infirmities, were slack in their pace, they pricked them with their swords and pikes; and to strike a farther terror on the multitude, they murdered some by the way. Many of these poor creatures, when thrown into the water, endeavoured to save themselves by swimming to the shore; but their merciless persecutors prevented their endeavours taking effect, by shooting them in the water.

In one place 140 English, after being driven for many miles stark naked, and in the most severe weather, were all murdered on the same spot, some being hanged, others burnt, some shot, and many of them buried alive; and so cruel were their tormentors, that they would not suffer them to pray before they robbed them of their miserable existence.

Other companies they took under pretence of safe conduct, who, from that consideration, proceeded cheerfully on their journey; but when the treacherous papists had got them to a convenient spot, they butchered them all in the most cruel manner.

One hundred and fifteen men, women, and children, were conducted, by order of sir Phelim O'Neal, to Portendown bridge, where they were all forced into the river, and drowned. One woman, named Campbell, finding no probability of escaping, suddenly clasped one of the chief of the papists in her arms, and held him so fast, that they were both drowned together.

In Killoman they massacred 48 families, among

whom 22 were burnt together in one house. The rest were either hanged, shot, or drowned.

In Killmore the inhabitants, which consisted of about 200 families, all fell victims to their rage. Some of the protestants were set in the stocks till they confessed where their money was ; after which they were put to death. The whole country was one common scene of butchery, and many thousands perished, in a short time, by sword, famine, fire, water, and all other the most cruel deaths that rage and malice could invent.

These inhuman villains showed so much favour to some as to despatch them immediately ; but they would by no means suffer them to pray. Others they imprisoned in filthy dungeons, putting heavy bolts on their legs, and keeping them there till they were starved to death.

At Cashel they put all the protestants into a loathsome dungeon, where they kept them together for several weeks in the greatest misery. At length they were released, when some of them were barbarously mangled, and left on the highways to perish at leisure ; others were hanged, and some were buried in the ground upright, with their heads above the earth, the papists, to increase their misery, treating them with derision during their sufferings.

In the county of Antrim they murdered 954 protestants in one morning ; and afterwards about 1200 more in that county.

At a town called Lisnegary, they forced 24 protestants into a house, and then setting fire to it, burned them together, counterfeiting their outcries in derision to others.

Among other acts of cruelty, they took two children belonging to an Englishwoman, and dashed out their brains before her face : after which they threw the mother into a river, and she was drowned. They served many other children in the like manner, to the great affliction of their parents, and the disgrace of human nature.

In Kilkenny all the protestants, without exception, were put to death ; and some of them in so cruel a manner, as, perhaps, was never before thought of.

They beat an Englishwoman with such savage barbarity, that she had scarce a whole bone left ; after which they threw her into a ditch ; but not satisfied with this, they took her child, a girl about six years of age, and after ripping up its belly, threw it to its mother, there to languish till it perished.

They forced one man to go to mass, after which they ripped open his body, and in that manner left him. They sawed another asunder, cut the throat of his wife, and after having dashed out the brains of their child, an infant, threw it to the swine, who greedily devoured it.

After committing these and many other horrid cruelties, they took the heads of seven protestants, and among them that of a pious minister, all which they fixed up at the market cross. They put a gag into the minister's mouth, then slit his cheeks to his ears, and laying a leaf of a Bible before it, bid him preach, for his mouth was wide enough. They did several other things by way of derision, and expressed the greatest satisfaction at having thus murdered and exposed the unhappy protestants.

It is impossible to conceive the pleasure these monsters took in exercising their cruelty ; and to increase the misery of those who fell into their hands, while they were butchering them, they would cry, " Your soul to the devil !"

One of the miscreants would come into a house with his hands imbrued in blood, and boast that it was English blood, and that his sword had pricked the white skin of the protestants, even to the hilt.

When any one of them had killed a protestant, others would come and receive a gratification in cutting and mangling the body ; after which they left it to be devoured by dogs ; and when they had slain a

number of them, they would boast that the devil was beholding to them for sending so many souls to hell !

But it is no wonder that they should thus treat the innocent Christians, when they hesitated not to commit blasphemy against God and his most holy word.

In one place they burnt two protestant Bibles, and then said they had burnt hell-fire. In the church at Powerscourt, they burnt the pulpit, pews, chests, and Bibles belonging to it. They took other Bibles, and, after wetting them with dirty water, dashed them in the faces of the protestants, saying, "We know you love a good lesson ; here is an excellent one for you ; come to-morrow, and you shall have as good a sermon as this."

Some of the protestants they dragged by the hair of their heads into the church, where they stripped and whipped them in the most cruel manner, telling them, at the same time, "That if they came to-morrow, they should hear the like sermon."

In Munster they put to death several ministers in the most shocking manner. One, in particular, they stripped stark naked, and driving him before them, pricked him with swords and pikes till he fell down and expired.

In some places they plucked out the eyes and cut off the hands of the protestants, and in that condition turned them into the fields, there to linger out the remainder of their miserable existence.

They obliged many young men to force their aged parents to a river, where they were drowned ; wives to assist in hanging their husbands ; and mothers to cut the throats of their children.

In one place they compelled a young man to kill his father, and then immediately hanged him. In another they forced a woman to kill her husband, then obliged her son to kill her, and afterwards shot him through the head.

At a place called Glasgow, a popish priest, with some others, prevailed on 40 protestants to be recon-

ciled to the church of Rome, under the vain hope of saving their lives. They had no sooner done this, than the deceivers told them they were in a good faith, and that they would prevent their falling from it, and turning heretics, by sending them out of the world; which they did by immediately cutting their throats.

In the county of Tipperary a great number of protestants, men, women, and children, fell into the hands of the papists, who, after stripping them naked, murdered them with stones, pole-axes, swords, and other weapons.

In the county of Mayo about 60 protestants, 15 of whom were ministers, were, upon covenant, to be safely conducted to Galway, by one Edmund Burke and his soldiers; but that inhuman monster by the way drew his sword, as an intimation of his design to the rest, who immediately followed his example, and murdered the whole, some of whom they stabbed, others were run through the body with pikes, and several were drowned.

In Queen's county great numbers of protestants were put to the most shocking deaths. Fifty or sixty were confined together in one house, which being set on fire, they all perished in the flames.

Many were stripped naked, and being fastened to horses by ropes placed round their middles, were dragged through bogs till they expired.

Some were hung by the feet to tenter-hooks driven into poles, and in that wretched posture left till they perished.

Others were fastened to the trunk of a tree, with a branch at the top. Over this branch hung one arm, which principally supported the weight of the body; and one of the legs was turned up and fastened to the trunk, while the other hung straight. In this dreadful and uneasy posture did they remain, as long as life would permit, pleasing spectacles to their blood-thirsty persecutors.

At Clownes 17 men were buried alive ; and an Englishman, his wife, five children, and a servant maid, were all hung together, and afterwards thrown into a ditch.

They hung many by the arms to branches of trees, with a weight to their feet ; and others by the middle, in which postures they left them till they expired.

Several were hung on windmills, and before they were half dead, the barbarians cut them in pieces with their swords. Others, both men, women, and children, they cut and hacked in various parts of their bodies, and left them wallowing in their blood, to perish where they fell. One poor woman they hung on a gibbet, with her child, an infant about a twelvemonth old, the latter of whom was hung by the neck with the hair of its mother's head, and in that manner finished its short but miserable existence.

In the county of Tyrone no less than 300 protestants were drowned in one day ; and many others were hanged, burned, and otherwise put to death.

Dr. Maxwell, rector of Tyrone, lived at this time near Armagh, and suffered greatly from these merciless savages. This clergyman, in his examination, taken upon oath before the king's commissioners, declared that the Irish papists owned to him, that they had destroyed, in one place, at Glynwood, 12,000 protestants, in their flight from the county of Armagh.

As the river Bann was not fordable, and the bridge broken down, the Irish forced thither, at different times, a great number of unarmed defenceless protestants, and with pikes and swords violently thrust above 1000 into the river, where they miserably perished.

Nor did the cathedral of Armagh escape the fury of these barbarians, it being maliciously set on fire by their leaders, and burnt to the ground. And to extirpate, if possible, the very race of those unhappy

protestants who lived in or near Armagh, the Irish first burned all their houses, and then gathered together many hundreds of those innocent people, young and old, on pretence of allowing them a guard and safe conduct to Coleraine; when they treacherously fell on them by the way, and inhumanly murdered them.

The like horrid barbarities with those we have particularized, were practised on the wretched protestants in almost all parts of the kingdom; and, when an estimate was afterwards made of the number who were sacrificed to gratify the diabolical souls of the papists, it amounted to 150,000. But it now remains that we proceed to the particulars that follow.

These desperate wretches, flushed and grown insolent with success, (though attained by methods attended with such excessive barbarities as perhaps are not to be equalled) soon got possession of the castle of Newry, where the king's stores and ammunition were lodged; and, with as little difficulty, made themselves masters of Dundalk. They afterwards took the town of Ardee, where they murdered all the protestants, and then proceeded to Drogheda. The garrison of Drogheda was in no condition to sustain a siege; notwithstanding which, as often as the Irish renewed their attacks, they were vigorously repulsed, by a very unequal number of the king's forces, and a few faithful protestant citizens, under Sir Henry Tichborne, the governor, assisted by lord viscount Moore. The siege of Drogheda began on the 30th of November, 1641, and held till the 4th of March, 1642, when Sir Phelim O'Neal, and the Irish miscreants under him, were forced to retire.

In the mean time 10,000 troops were sent from Scotland to the relief of the remaining protestants in Ireland, which being properly divided into various parts of the kingdom, happily suppressed the power of the Irish savages; and the protestants, for several years, lived in tranquillity.

After James II. had abandoned England, he maintained a contest for some time in Ireland, where he did all in his power to carry on that persecution which he had been happily prevented from persevering in, in England: accordingly, in a parliament held at Dublin, in the year 1689, great numbers of the protestant nobility, clergy, and gentry of Ireland, were attainted of high treason. The government of the kingdom was, at that time, invested in the earl of Tyrconnel, a bigoted papist, and an inveterate enemy to the Protestants. By his orders they were again persecuted in various parts of the kingdom. The revenues of the city of Dublin were seized, and most of the churches converted into prisons. And had it not been for the resolution and uncommon bravery of the garrisons in the city of Londonderry, and the town of Inniskillen, there had not one place remained for refuge to the distressed protestants in the whole kingdom; but all must have been given up to king James, and to the furious popish party that governed him.

The remarkable siege of Londonderry was opened on the 18th of April, 1689, by 20,000 papists, the flower of the Irish army. The city was not properly circumstanced to sustain a siege, the defenders consisting of a body of raw disciplined protestants who had fled thither for shelter, and half a regiment of lord Mountjoy's disciplined soldiers, with the principal part of the inhabitants, making in all only 7361 fighting men.

The besieged hoped, at first, that their stores of corn, and other necessities, would be sufficient; but by the continuance of the siege their wants increased; and these at last became so heavy, that, for a considerable time before the siege was raised, a pint of coarse barley, a small quantity of greens, a few spoonsful of starch, with a very moderate portion of horseflesh, were reckoned a week's provision for a soldier. And they were, at length, reduced to such extremities, that they ate dogs, cats, and mice.

Their miseries increasing with the siege, many, through mere hunger and want, pined and languished away, or fell dead in the streets ; and it is remarkable, that when their long expected succours arrived from England, they were upon the point of being reduced to this alternative, either to preserve their existence by eating each other, or attempting to fight their way through the Irish, which must have infallibly produced their destruction.

These succours were most happily brought by the ship *Mountjoy*, of Derry, and the *Phœnix*, of Coleraine, at which time they had only nine lean horses left, with a pint of meal to each man. By hunger, and the fatigues of the war, their 7361 fighting men were reduced to 4300, one fourth part of whom were rendered unserviceable.

As the calamities of the besieged were very great, so likewise were the terrors and sufferings of their protestant friends and relations ; all of whom (even women and children) were forcibly driven from the country 30 miles round, and inhumanly reduced to the sad necessity of continuing some days and nights, without food or covering, before the walls of the town ; and were thus exposed to the continual fire both of the Irish army from without, and the shot of their friends from within.

But the succours from England happily arriving, put an end to their affliction ; and the siege was raised on the 31st of July, having been continued upwards of three months.

The day before the siege of Londonderry was raised, the Inniskilleners engaged a body of 6000 Irish Roman Catholics, at Newton Butler, or Crown Castle, of whom near 5000 were slain. This, with the defeat at Londonderry, so much dispirited the papists, that they gave up all farther attempts at that time to persecute the protestants.

In the year following, 1690, the Irish who had taken up arms in favour of James II., were totally de-

feated by William the Third; and that monarch, before he left the country, reduced them to a state of subjection, in which they very long continued, at least so far as to refrain from open violence, although they were still insidiously engaged in increasing their power and influence; for by a report made in the year 1731, it appeared, that a great number of ecclesiastics had, in defiance of the laws, flocked into Ireland; that several convents had been opened by Jesuits, monks, and friars; that many new and pompous mass-houses had been erected in some of the most conspicuous parts of their great cities, where there had not been any before; and that such swarms of vagrant, immoral Romish priests had appeared, that the very papists themselves considered them as a burden.

But, notwithstanding all the arts of priestcraft, all the tumid and extravagant harangues of Hibernian orators, and the gross and wilful misrepresentations of their self-styled *liberal* abettors in this country, the protestant religion now stands on a firmer basis in Ireland, than it ever before did. The Irish, who formerly led an unsettled and roving life, in the woods, bogs, and mountains, and lived on the depredation of their neighbours; they who, in the morning seized the prey, and at night divided the spoil, have, for many years past, become comparatively quiet and civilized. They taste the sweets of English society, and the advantages of civil government.

The heads of their clans, and the chiefs of the great Irish families, who cruelly oppressed and tyrannized over their vassals, are now dwindled, in a great measure, to nothing; and most of the ancient popish nobility and gentry of Ireland have renounced the Romish religion.

It is also to be hoped, that inestimable benefits will arise from the establishment of protestant schools in various parts of the kingdom, in which the children of the Roman Catholics are instructed in religion and

literature, whereby the mist of ignorance is dispelled, which was the great source of the cruel transactions that have taken place, at different periods, in that kingdom ; and this is sufficiently proved by the fact, that those parts of the country which have been disgraced by the most horrible outrages, are those in which the most profound ignorance and bigotry still prevail.

SECTION III.

It is now our task to relate another of those horrible plots which will for ever disgrace the name of **POPERY**, and render it obnoxious to every one who is not blinded by the specious statements of its supporters—we mean the **ASSASSINATION PLOT**, formed for the destruction of that truly great and good monarch, William III.

The Assassination Plot.

The papists, whose souls were still anxious to eclipse the power of the protestants, and to subvert the government, had been, for some time, projecting another scheme to answer their wished-for purposes, and at length an opportunity offered ; but, happily for England, it was providentially frustrated.

The intent of this diabolical scheme was, to assassinate William III., and to restore James to the English throne. It was first projected by the French king, and furthered by the popish emissaries in England.

King William had been, for a considerable time, at war with France ; and had such success as almost to ruin and depopulate that country. This so enraged the French monarch, that he determined to make one grand and final effort to restore, if possible, James, his friend and ally, to the throne ; as to the success of which they were filled with the most sanguine

hopes, by the death of queen Mary, which circumstance, they supposed, had greatly lessened the king's interest in this country.

The scheme of an invasion, and the design of taking off the English monarch, were publicly mentioned in France in the beginning of February, 1695; and it was known that Louis had sent an army to Calais, so that nothing but a favourable opportunity seemed wanting to begin the daring attempt.

On the 18th of February, James set out for Calais, when the troops, artillery, and stores, were ordered to be put on board the vessels lying there for that purpose; news being hourly expected from England of the assassination being perpetrated.

In the mean time the duke of Wirtemberg, alarmed at the reports current in France, despatched an aid-de-camp to England in order to inform William of the destruction which awaited him. The prince of Vaudemont, then at Brussels, despatched messengers with the same intelligence, adding, that he had laid an embargo on all the ships in the harbours of Flanders, in order to transport troops into England for his majesty's service. But notwithstanding all the expedition used by the duke of Wirtemberg, the king had, some time before the arrival of his messenger, received certain accounts, not only of the intended invasion, but also of the conspiracy against his person.

The principal persons in England concerned in the plot for assassinating the king, were the following: the earl of Aylesbury, lord Montgomery, son to the marquis of Powis, sir John Fenwick, sir William Perkins, sir John Friend, captain Charnock, captain Porter, and Mr. Goodman.

The duke of Berwick (an illegitimate son of James II.) had come privately over to England, in the beginning of February, in order to hasten the preparations of the conspirators, whom he assured that king James was ready to make a descent, at the head of

twenty-two thousand French troops. At the same time, he distributed commissions, and gave directions for procuring men, horses, and arms, for joining him on his arrival. Various rumours were spread, with regard to the nature of these commissions : some said they imported nothing more than to levy war against the prince of Orange, and all his adherents, and that king James was totally ignorant of the more detestable part of the scheme ; while others asserted that they related to both.

But however that may be, the conspirators, who were several in number, besides those already mentioned, had held various meetings, in order to concert the most proper measures for executing their hellish design. Sir George Berkeley, a native of Scotland, a person of undaunted courage, close, cautious, and circumspect, though a furious bigot to the church of Rome, came over in January with a private commission from king James, by virtue whereof, the party in England were implicitly to obey his orders. This person undertook the detestable task of murdering the king, with the assistance of forty horsemen, furnished by the conspirators. Various methods were at first proposed for effecting this purpose; but it was at last determined to attack the king on his return from Richmond, where he usually hunted every Saturday. The place pitched upon was the lane leading from Brentford to Turnham Green. Perhaps a place more likely could not be found; for his majesty generally returning late from the country, usually crossed the ferry, and then proceeded to his guards, where he landed, and then proceeded to his land.

Nor were the time and place more artfully contrived, than the disposition and arrangement of the men : for, having secured several places in Brentford, Turnham-Green, and other houses in the neighbourhood, to put up their horses, till the king returned from hunting, one of the conspirators was ordered to wait at the ferry till the guards appeared on the Surry side of the water ; and then to give speedy notice to the rest, that they might be ready at their respective posts, while the king was crossing the river. In order to this, they were divided into three parties, who were to make their approaches by three different ways ; one from Turnham-Green, another from the lane leading to the Thames, and a third from the road leading through Brentford. One of these parties was to attack the king's guards in the front, another in the rear, while ten or twelve of the most daring and resolute were to assassinate his majesty by firing their blunderbusses at him through the coach windows. It was also agreed, that when the bloody purpose was accomplished, the conspirators should form one body, and continue their route to Hammer-smith, and there divide themselves into small parties of three or four, and make the best of their way to Dover, where the sudden landing of the French would secure them from the rage of the populace, and the hand of justice. Sir George Berkeley complaining that the money he had brought over with him was so nearly exhausted, that the remainder was not sufficient to furnish forty horses, the only necessities, they agreed that he should employ William Perkins, a Quaker, to assist them.

met, and agreed to be in readiness on the Saturday following. Just as they were setting out, they received intelligence from Chambers and Durant, two of their accomplices, that the guards were all come back in great haste, and that there was a whisper among the people, that a horrid plot was discovered. This news put the conspirators into the utmost consternation, and they immediately dispersed.

The conspiracy was discovered in the following manner : captain Porter, the day before the scheme was to have been put into execution, divulged the whole plot to an intimate friend of his, named Pendergrass, whom he solicited to be one of their number. Pendergrass seemingly complied ; but, struck with horror at the atrociousness of the crime, he instantly acquainted the earl of Portland with the scheme, and desired he might be introduced to the king, which being complied with, he fully made known to him all the particulars he knew of this horrid conspiracy, and, after many entreaties from the king, added to a solemn promise that he should not be produced as an evidence without his own consent, he gave in a list of the assassins.

A proclamation was now issued for apprehending the conspirators, and most of them were secured, but Berkeley found means to escape. Admiral Russel was ordered to Chatham, to hasten the fleet out to sea. The rendezvous was appointed in the Downs, to which place all the men of war, then in the sea-ports, were ordered to sail. This was accomplished with such expedition, that the fleet was ready to sail had they sail had
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On the 24th of February, the king went to the House of Peers, and in a speech to both houses, informed them of the conspiracy, and intended invasion. In a very affectionate and loyal address, they congratulated him on his escape from the designs of his enemies; declared their abhorrence of such villainous attempts; and solemnly promised to assist his majesty, and defend his royal person against all his enemies, declared and private. They likewise drew up an association to the same purpose, which was signed by all the members. From the parliament the association was carried to every part of the kingdom, and signed by all ranks of people. The bishops drew up a particular form, but in the same spirit, which was subscribed to by the greater part of the clergy.

Thus was this horrid conspiracy happily frustrated, and the authors of it brought to that condign punishment which their infamy merited. The king's life was the security of his subjects, who heartily rejoiced, as they had reason to do, in being thereby preserved from the miseries of popery and arbitrary government.

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